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ABSTRACT

This second volume of Proceedings from the Annual Conference on Minority Studies departs from the precedent set in the first volume. Its structure is not limited to a given topic. Instead, in keeping with the objectives of the National Association of Interdisciplinary Studies for Native-Americans, blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asian Americans, it examines interdisciplinary perspectives on a variety of minority issues grouped by academic areas or points of view. The opening two essays present general overviews of the topic areas. One deals with black literature, and the other with minority conflict on an international basis. Part 2 of this volume contains papers that focus on a variety of contemporary issues such as affirmative action, economics, and medical care for migrants. Parts 3 and 4 examine literary perspectives (Chicano and Puerto Ricans in elementary school social studies texts, the Chicano novel, Chicano fiction) and historical perspectives (assimilationism, racism, Indian assimilation, slavery, the Chinese in America, and French Canadians in America) on questions involving all of the major racial minorities. (Author/AM)

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SELECTED PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
3RD ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON MINORITY STUDIES

APRIL, 1975

ESSAYS ON MINORITY CULTURES

Editors:
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Volume 2

PREFACE

The second volume of *Proceedings* from the Annual Conference on Minority Studies departs from the past precedent in the sense that its structure is not limited to a given topic. The present volume, more in keeping with the objectives of the National Association of Interdisciplinary Studies for Native-American, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Asian Americans, examines interdisciplinary prespectives grouped by academic areas or points of view on a variety of minority issues. Thus the opening two essays are general overviews by two recognized authorities, one dealing with black literature and the other with minority conflict internationally. Part II contains papers that focus on a variety of contemporary minority issues ranging from affirmative action to economics to medical care for migrants. Parts III and IV then examine literary and historical perspectives on questions involving all of the major racial minorities. In future volumes, the editors plan to follow this same general format as a supplement to the theme volume which emerges each year. Conference participants will thus have an opportunity to publish their essays regardless of their relationship to any highlight theme.

The editors are indebted to the administration at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse for their on-going support for a continuing series of conferences. Chancellor Kenneth Lindner deserves a special note of thanks for his dedication to the activities of the Institute for Minority Studies. The editors are also indebted to several individuals for their devoted efforts in getting the manuscript together under hectic circumstances: Ms. Pat Temp for typing the manuscript, and Ms. Brenda Dunn, Ms. Chris Liethen, Ms. Ava Parker, and Ms. Mary Kay Vincent for their proofreading. There were many others who made a contribution, but the list is too large to present here; however, each of them deserve a special word of appreciation. Last, but not least, the contributors, for their interest in the conference and their patience before seeing any rewards from their efforts.

- GEORGE E. CARTER

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PART I

OVERVIEWS

INTRODUCTION

We live in a world in which those with wealth and power dominate, repress, and ignore the humanity of those without. By race or sex, by religion or class, by many arbitrary definitions that overlook the common characteristics of humanity, we define and categorize each other, attaching labels and stereotypes to rationalize our dominant positions over others. Deprived of their dignity, if not their very existence, those who have struggled against the fist of their oppressors have at least realized their self-respect and have regained their sense of purpose. The United States is but a microcosm of such struggles. It is proper that the nation, on the eve of celebrating its devotion to humanistic precepts in the ideals of the Revolution, face the reality of continuing deprivation and repression and extend its appreciation to those who have fought to maintain its brightest dreams and have dissented from the paralysis of national ignorance that has often plagued our past. Only mature nations may have the courage to face the truth of its past and move to correct its future.

Mr. Benjamin Whitaker's opening essay in the "Overview" section is addressed to the international need to develop an analysis of minority conflict and intergroup tension. Investigating the psychological, sociological, and economic origins of prejudice and ethnocentrism, Whitaker emphasizes their self-fulfilling characters concluding that an educational system that allows and respects individual autonomy in self-expression and decision-making may be the only key to the current dichotomies and conflicts.

Darwin Turners' essay asserts the existence of a black literary tradition. A stimulating and thought-provoking piece, Turner identifies eight shared characteristics, including elements of purpose, form, theme, characterization, style, and tone. His arguments for the existence and viability of such a tradition are compelling.

- JAMES R. PARKER

MINORITY CONFLICTS IN PRESENT-DAY SOCIETIES: A SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

BEN WHITAKER

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP

LONDON, ENGLAND

The adage that "all generalizations are false, including this one" rarely has greater validity than in the study of minority problems. For every pattern that can be picked out, or theory constructed, an equivalent number of exceptions spring to mind. Each minority situation is the product of distinctive historical, economic, and political determinants as well as its own unique sociopsychological factors. Scientific research into the measurement, let alone the causation, of prejudice is notoriously difficult: baffled by a kaleidoscope of subjective and objective facets, observers are tempted to retire with the conclusion that "people believe what they want to believe." Yet it is essential that the analysis, however difficult, should be attempted. Our future existence depends upon the reduction and avoidance of human conflict; but intergroup tensions--as well as their destructive potential--are now on the increase in the world as more and more groups are unwilling to continue playing the role of victims--either of oppression or of pity. Before any cure can be prescribed, a diagnosis as accurate as possible is obviously necessary.

Despite such tensions generally being popularly described as "minority problems"--"the problem of immigrants, or of the Jews, or of the gypsies"--the conflict most frequently originates in the attitude of the relevant majority. It is a field in which rationalizations abound, but often the antagonism of the majority's members stems from a belief that their territorial or economic or sexual interests are threatened. Even an ostensibly religious struggle such as Northern Ireland's, or the racial one in South Africa today, has powerful socio-economic roots and seems to be due less to pluralism than to imbalances of power in society. Yet it is not possible to explain all contemporary group tensions in such terms. In the case of the gypsies, who suffer from varying degrees of prejudice in virtually every country in western and eastern Europe, the majority appears to be disturbed more by the challenge of a counter-culture. Although they are commonly denounced as parasitic, gypsies do not, in fact, compete for the usual resources which are felt to be in short supply, such as jobs, housing, welfare and health services, or educational opportunities. Why then do they arouse such continuing and irrational antipathy? Could it be because their nomadic pattern of life challenges our increasingly stereotyped and urbanized society, in the same way as some of the youthful counter-cultures today are disturbing to older people, because of their challenge to our puritan work-ethic values?

Philip Mason has identified three general different influences which can give rise to prejudice. He suggests that the individual can be psychologically motivated by a feeling that his own ego or self-regard is debased by the inculcation of excessively rigid super-ego standards, and that consequently he externalizes or projects the desires or fears of his id on to convenient scapegoats. Secondly, Mason lists the effect of anthropomorphic influences such as white people's association of black as a concept with dirt, impenetrability, bad luck, despair, and the long dark nights of the northern winter. Thirdly, Mason recognizes the pressures which set man against man in competitive societies.

Undoubtedly, there are a great number of other factors, but immediately one major question arises. Do people discriminate because they are prejudiced, or do people use prejudice as a rationalization for self-interested discrimination? The school of thought which takes the second view sees discrimination preceding prejudice and as being the majority's instinctive reaction towards a group, often at the bottom of the social structure, with whom they are competing for resources such as jobs and housing. Europe contains many examples of such attitudes towards immigrants, perhaps particularly in Protestant countries: Catholic societies have often been more inclined to view such out-groups as souls to be converted rather than as competing economic units. Yet it is not difficult to find examples of prejudice, towards individuals as well as groups in society, which are inexplicable in terms of competing self-interest. While some single and plural non-conformists are treated with negative sanctions, others are tolerated or even regarded as lovable eccentrics.

In seeking for an explanation for this, it is necessary to consider the sociopsychological make-up, not just of the majority and of the minority, but also of the total society which is the context of their interaction. Strongly ethnocentric societies are frequently alleged to be the overmost intolerant of minorities, although sometimes a society which is uncertain of its identity can be even more repressive. James Ritchie points out that, in any event, ethnocentrism is in fact a constellation of attitudes and forces; but, commonly, highly ethnocentric societies have sharply defined memberships and social boundaries, a high degree of status mobility and insecurity, often a strongly delineated religious or political ideology, and frequently a preoccupation with order and obedience having to be imposed by some central authority. It is socially accepted that group or individual failure in such a syndrome may be externalized on to out-group scapegoats.

Prejudice can be self-fulfilling, and the behavior of--especially a frightened--minority may contribute to its stigmatization. (Liberals tend to forget that people do not become virtuous merely by reason of their predicament.) Performance can be influenced by expectations rather than ability. Some victims of discrimination play a self-effacing, or even a clowning, role; and almost all naturally strengthen their in-ties, although a few exceptions reject, or attempt to reject, their membership and identify with their aggressors. Minorities are themselves frequently divided as to the relative virtues of a separate identity, integration, or assimilation. I personally believe that this is a choice which should be left to each individual. But any such decision presupposes that a real choice of options is available, and of course assimilation depends not only on the degree to which the minority is prepared to adapt itself to the ways and customs of the majority, but also to the degree to which the majority will accept the minority.

The vast majority of newspapers, and a great number of textbooks still in use in schools today, are permeated with implicit ethnocentric and nationalistic values, thus perpetuating them from generation to generation. Historical teaching in particular can inculcate an almost automatic and unconscious belief in the extraordinary virtue of one's own group (whether nation, race, class, or sex), coupled with a contempt, if not a dislike, for anything different. A new international and impartial series of history books--which do not, for example, merely treat Africa through the eyes of white people--is badly needed. Black minority children, brought up in cultures without black heroes, black communicators, or many black teachers, are being forced to "think white" to a degree which could induce an identity crisis.

Equally it must be recognized that prejudices have often been consciously exploited by leaders of every political persuasion, who use them as pretexts for denigrating political, social, or economic opponents and as excuses for exploiting other races, classes, or women. While such leaders employ discriminatory myths as calculated weapons, their audiences, out of a need for security, are tempted to shelter behind such blinders, and thereby are diverted from focusing upon any more real causes of the ills of their existence. Long before Hitler, political manipulators sought to bid for popularity by channeling public emotion onto vulnerable scapegoats. Minorities, living in bad housing or ghettoes, often reveal wider social problems and hence come to be identified with the causes of them. In the last century, John Stuart Mill lamented:

> Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences upon the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent, natural differences.

Such group stigmatization is no modern phenomenon, although possibly as a defense against the growing complexity of contemporary life we are increasingly being persuaded to categorize people, generally on the grounds of very inadequate evidence. At one time it used to be alleged that, in a golden earlier age, societies were free of racial prejudice and used to respect strangers as honored guests, and that it was only the advent of the slave trade which caused Europeans to view blacks as inferior or sub-human beings, in an attempt to reconcile their trade with the tenets of Christianity. Slavery, both in the seventeenth century and in earlier times, undoubtedly accelerated stereotyped discrimination. Cicero, in the first century, advised, "Do not obtain your slaves from Britain because they are so stupid and so utterly incapable of being taught that they are not fit to form a part of the household." Another major similar influence throughout history has been the effects imperialism has wrought upon colonizing countries: a theory of inferiority had to be constructed about the conquered people in order to justify paternalism, if not exploitation. Colonialism has also, of course, resulted in many legacies of present-day minority problems due to arbitrary boundaries or the importation of labor or the administering power's historic technique of ruling by dividing one local race or tribe against another. But group prejudice seems to have been depressingly constant throughout history. The ancient Greeks used to call foreigners "barbarians." Although Britain's insecurity about her present role and economic problems has been advanced as an excuse for recent outbreaks of racialism here, Queen

Elizabeth I of England also ordered black people to be expelled from her country. And the words with which Huguenot immigrants were attacked in England in 1688,

> The time has come to speak out. We are told that these aliens who come here, springing themselves upon the public expense, taking bread out of the mouths of honest Englishmen, overcrowding, stealing and cheating, arousing disguest and loathing wherever they go. . . . We are told that these aliens are fellow-Christians and that we must endure their insolence and their outlandish ways in a Christian spirit. . . . Let us not put up with them any longer.

are almost identical with some of the invective against immigrants today.

Despite the teaching of some leaders such as Buddha, who said, "There is no caste in blood, which runneth in one hue; nor caste in tears, which trickle salt withal," many religions cannot escape a heavy responsibility in this respect. Several of the xenophobic prejudices of Europeans can be traced to Christian teachers who feared the threat of Mohammedanism or regarded the Indian or Chinese civilizations with suspicion because they were contaminated by "superstition." Although brotherly love and good will towards one's fellow men is a central part of Christian and other religious teaching, recent surveys have shown that religious people (and particularly Christians such as the Dutch Reformed Church) are measurably more ethnocentric and intolerant of minority groups than non-religious people. Glenn Wilson has suggested that the reason for this may be that to claim to be devout and godly is ego-enhancing, in the same way that denigrating others can be an attempt to bolster one's self-image.

Before examining more closely the origins of prejudice in an individual's socio-psychology, it should be noted that some psychologists believe that group prejudice best responds to group therapy. Individual treatment often fails to cut the support which prejudice derives from other group members, whereas therapy in a group setting can encourage self-knowledge and break down feelings of fear and isolation. Prejudice is frequently greatest amongst those who have least experience of minorities or immigrants, and have their own interests most minimally affected by them. Such attitudes can often change as a result of a personal meeting: a face-to-face relationship is frequently quite different from one colored by impersonal stereotyped views, even though prejudice can be subtly insidious and present in those who think themselves immune to it--masquerading as paternalism or even sympathy.

Nevertheless, there are also indications that smaller social units tend to be less tolerant than larger ones: the more homogenous a group is, the more non-conformity is capable of offending. Psychologists at Bristol University have found evidence that people, as soon as they are divided into groups--whether these are clubs, sports teams, trade unions, or nations--automatically begin to discriminate against non-member outsiders. Many species besides humans fear and attack non-conformity; indeed, it has been argued that all people need a pecking order and a group to look down upon--until they are in turn united by some new enemy. Such behavior is nearly always accompanied by stereotyped rumors, bred from social isolation, even amongst groups who are living in close physical proximity. It has been found in children as early as four years old--with a display of attitudes that in all probability are copied from their families or peer groups.

Education is most frequently felt to be the key in dealing with such prejudiced attitudes. Recently schools in some parts of the United States, led by those in Philadelphia, have begun experimental "ethnicity programs" to educate children to come to terms with and to take a pride in their own origins, and to learn that others' differences do not imply any inferiority. Attempts are made to stress not only that "black is beautiful," but that Italian, Polish, Ukrainian, Irish, and so on are also beautiful. This is an approach which might usefully be tried elsewhere--for example, with regard to the immigrant workers in Europe. It attempts to reverse the previous assumption that an immigrant must be encouraged to jettison his ethnic roots and to merge as quickly as possible into the indigenous identity of his new country if he is to have any chance of success. In the United States, this not infrequently in reality meant the adoption of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant values, and the pressure of the implication that the melting pot offered the highest rewards for those who most quickly discarded the culture of their parents sometimes led to tragic intergenerational tension. Many, but not all, minority groups prefer mutual tolerance in a society to forceable synthesis: integration--defined by Roy Jenkins as "equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of tolerance"--rather than assimilation.

"Nothing in the world can be more narrow-minded and more inhuman than wholesale condemnation of whole classes of people by a label, by a moral card index," wrote the Russian Alexander Herzen in his *Memoirs*. What kind of people tend to demonstrate such attitudes? Some critics believe that the causes are nothing to do with individual personality, but that racism is an institutionalized function of the economic and social system. The classic Marxist theory is that racism is a weapon used by capitalists to divide the working class. Other authorities, such as the psychiatrist Dr. Farrukh Hashmi, on the other hand, take the view that racial prejudice is a form of clinical mental disorder.

A comprehensive survey in Britain in 1969 purported to identify a hard core of 10 percent of the population as racist, whereas 35 percent of people were categorized as being broadly tolerant. A survey in the United States the previous year produced figures of 5 percent hard core racists, with 34 percent of people identified as tolerant. Whatever validity these statistics may or may not have, several attempts have been made to analyze the personality of individuals who seem especially prone to prejudice. Some authorities have postulated the categorization of "open" and "closed" minds, with closed minds susceptible to being suspicious of strangers and fearful of the unfamiliar. Psychologists have suggested that the origins of such an attitude can very frequently be traced to a person's upbringing--most formatively during the first five years of his or her existence. Colin Burnham has argued that a harshly brought-up character, although he may appear outwardly to be full of confidence, is at a deeper level left feeling a prey to insecurity. His drive for security leaves him unsatisfied unless he can explain the world to his own satisfaction, and it is this compelling desire to construct simplistic explanations which provides the motivating force for his prejudice. Those people who have risen or fallen in a social scale are particularly likely to feel such insecurity.

Therefore, as Marie Jehoda writes, the task confronting psychology is to discover or create the conditions under which the basic conflict of identity can be made bearable without the crutch of prejudice.

In several countries, theories have been advanced about the origins of such conflicts of identity. In the United States, Nevitt Sanford, in his work on "the authoritarian personality," suggests that the cause is latent hostility which is generated in a child by a parental or other influence who is stern, rigid, unreasonable, and unaccompanied by love towards him. The consequential aggression of the child is suppressed and displaced on to outgroup substitutes.

> The individual is left with a continuing sense of impotence, which is the more infuriating because the sources are unrecognised . . . since weakness is contemptible, he cannot admit it in himself nor tolerate in others. It is because the perceived weakness of others reminds him of his own that he becomes more violent the more pitiable and the less able to strike back his victim becomes. The device of projecting on to others that which cannot be admitted in oneself is used not only for managing weakness but for putting from oneself various other unrecognised tendencies. This explains why a group, once it has been placed in the role of outgroup, may be seen as the embodiment of all manner of evil.

Norman Cohn has argued, on the basis of clinical as well as historical analyses, that color prejudice in the United States has a different psychodynamic origin from European anti-Semitism: whereas the latter is displaced hostility towards a feared father, the former is often a projection on to black people of reprehensible but suppressed sexual and aggressive feelings. The expression of such feelings by actions is, of course, greatly facilitated when a relationship is dehumanized through being viewed as a purely bureaucratic role--a situation when ostensibly normal people become capable to acting with extraordinary cruelty.

What is the antidote for this? Sanford suggests programs of education which allow for individual autonomy and self-expression and encourage a child to govern himself. We must, as adults or children, come to recognize and learn to live with the aggression that is in all of us--and, rather than suppressing it, try to channel it into something relevant and constructive. This is something we, each and every one, have a direct self-interest in doing. For who of us can know whether they in turn will not be an unpopular minority tomorrow?

A BLACK-AMERICAN LITERARY TRADITION

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Sometimes students taking one of my examinations will misinterpret one of my questions and supply an answer for a question I have not asked. Often I suspect that the student simply did not want to answer my question. In a sense, that is what I propose to do today, because the ambiguity and breadth of the question proposed for this session, "Is there a black literary tradition?," has made me somewhat uncomfortable.

Consider the possible ambiguities in the mere effort to define the term "black." In his introduction to *Understanding the New Black Poetry* (Morrow, 1973), Stephen Henderson offers five definitions of black poetry, all of which could apply easily to all black literature: any poetry by any person or group of persons of known black African ancestry, whether the poetry is designated black or not; poetry which is somehow structurally black, irrespective of authorship; poetry by any person or group of known black African ancestry, which is also identifiably black, in terms of structure, theme, or other characteristics; poetry by any identifiably black person who can be classed as a "poet" by black people (judgment may or may not coincide with judgments of whites); and, poetry by any identifiably black person whose ideological stance vis-a-vis the history and the aspirations of his people since slavery is adjudged by them to be "correct." Notice that if these statements are considered mutually exclusive definitions of black poetry, the rejection of the first definition would suggest that poetry or literature by blacks is not necessarily black literature. Notice further that the second definition permits identification of poetry by whites as black poetry, and all except the second make "black" sufficiently broad to include blacks from the United States, from Africa, from the Caribbean, or from any part of the world.[1]

This mass of confusion is beyond resolution in this paper. Consequently, I wish only to discuss a Black-American literary tradition; that is, a tradition which will include all Black-American authors regardless of their subjects or styles and one which also includes literature that presents distinctively Black-American qualities of thought, structure, subject, style, and language. Whether Black-Americans employ all of these qualities in their writing has little significance here.

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[1] I am consciously rejecting several issues. First, for this presentation, I am not including black African writers or a consideration of the possible origins of the Black-American literary tradition on the African continent. Although I believe this might prove a stimulating discussion, I am excluding it because my time is too short and my knowledge of pre-eighteenth century African literature is too limited to permit a thorough discussion. I am also avoiding the question of whether Black-Americans who have imitated American/European literary styles should be excluded from the catalogue of Black-American literature. Although I respect the judgment of some who debate the issue vigorously, I will not.

The very fact that a Black-American is responsible for a work places it in the tradition of Black-American literature.[2] Henderson phrases my feelings well when he writes:

> . . . the Black Community does not intend to give up any of its beautiful singers, whether Countee Cullen or Melvin Tolson or Robert Hayden. We may quarrel with them sometimes, but ain't never gonna say goodbye.

Black-Americans are exposed to, affected and engulfed by American culture, even if they do not want to be part of it and even if many white Americans do not want to admit that they are part of that culture. Consequently, Black-American writers are creating American literature. If what Black-Americans write seems distinctively different from what has been presumed to be the tradition of American literature, then obviously the concept of the American literary tradition must be expanded to include the new writing. If there exists a desire to expand a literary tradition, it can be done.[3]

I propose to discuss the reasons why some individuals insist that there is no Black-American literary tradition, and identify certain elements which might establish the distinctiveness of the tradition of Black-American literature.

Anyone who denies that there is a black literary tradition relies upon two assumptions: a tradition must be as easily coded as the literature of a particular era is in anthologies and histories of literature, and wide variations among black authors evidence the absence of a tradition. There is no substance in the first assumption. In fact, though I, along with literature teachers, am often guilty of practicing that simplification which impels a teacher to define the characteristics of a literary period and attempt to squeeze authors into it, I realize that we are merely establishing dubious categorizations for our own convenience. Remove William Wordsworth and Lord Byron from their coincidental positions in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, relocate one in the seventeenth century, the other in the early eighteenth century, and I strongly doubt that anyone would attempt to force them into the same literary movement.

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[2] I am excluding a parallel question of whether there is a black literary tradition which is entirely different from an American literary tradition. In a sense, I regret a brief treatment of this, for it is fascinating in its complexities.

[3] Please do not construe these statements to be a rejection of the concept of a black aesthetic or a Black-American aesthetic. When "aesthetic" is truly defined as a concept which includes standards of beauty or appreciation for ideas and institutions and beings as well as art works, it is absurd to presume that a group restricted because of its appearance or ancestry should not find beauty in ideas and activities antithetical to those of the nonrestricted majority. It is absurd that a group which has seen its culture borrowed, adapted, distorted, used, and abused should be condemned when it insists upon the prerogative of using its own culture as a basis for its art and as a source of criteria for evaluations of that art. As a concept, a Black-American aesthetic can be assailed only by those who presume that the terms "universal," "aesthetic," and "white American" are synonymous. Perhaps it must be admitted, however, that some black authors may have failed to demonstrate effective use of a Black-American aesthetic.

If we accept variety within a particular movement, we are even more casual about a tradition itself. Consider the general assertion that a Western literary tradition extends from the Greeks through T. S. Eliot. In a period of more than two thousand years, writers periodically have returned to the work of earlier generations in their search for substance and style. Thus, we can trace the English literary tradition back to the Greeks and Romans because Ben Johnson articulated principles of "classical" writing, a group of eighteenth century writers called themselves Augustans and were "neo-classicists," and Matthew Arnold praised that creativity which emphasizes the totality of the work rather than its individual parts--a principle which he insisted that he derived from the Greeks. We tend to ignore that each of these apparent revivals of classicism arose in reaction to a period during which there was an apparent absence of classicism. The answer which is given frequently, of course, is that the writers of these interim periods were establishing a different tradition or even a counter-tradition. Thus, if Shakespeare does not follow Aristophanes in comedy, he follows Plautus; if his tragedy is not Sophoclean, it is Shakespearean; if many who have imitated him have failed to produce good drama, that fact merely emphasizes the individuality of his genius. English was obviously part of the English literary tradition and, in turn, part of the literary tradition of Western civilization which began with the Greeks. It is this kind of rationalizing which puts Plato, Sappho, Jonathan Swift, and Charles Lamb in a single literary tradition. Surely, if the concept of tradition is developed so loosely, I have no difficulty insisting that all Black-American writers are part of a Black-American literary tradition and, in fact, part of the tradition of American literature.

What is equally interesting in this game of establishing traditions is that one can establish a new and distinctive subdivision at any point at which one wishes to declare that a new country or culture has developed a literature. Thus, one conceives of an English literary tradition, consisting of the literature of the Anglos and the Saxons, the Normans, the Irish, the Scotch, sonnets from the Italians, derivations from the Greeks and Romans, continuous cyclic borrowings from the French, and who knows what else. One may likewise discuss the American literary tradition in terms of its contributors or all those equally sharing the American experience.

Obviously I am simplifying, but the concept of a literary tradition is, in itself, so loose that it becomes a serious matter only when a culture, defensively or chauvinistically, wishes to identify itself as distinctive. The concept is so free that all one need do to argue for Black-American inclusion is to demonstrate correlations between Black-American writers of the twentieth century and a Phillis Wheatley or a William Wells

Brown or a David Walker of earlier generations. This requires little ingenuity.

But the second assumption concerning variations in substance and style is more provocative--some believe that Black-American literature is so varied that it merely represents copybook examples of American literature rather than a tradition in itself. Instead of dismissing this, I wish to consider the reasons for the apparent absence of a single, continuous tradition among Black-Americans. Performing in the manner of writers respected in America, many Black-American writers have sought to achieve literary reputations. Inevitably, this has produced stylistic similarities to white authors. Thus Phillis Wheatley echoed John Milton and Alexander Pope. Paul Laurence Dunbar and Countee Cullen emulated English lyricists of the nineteenth century. Zora Neale Hurston, in *Moses, Man of the Mountain*, followed John Erskine's pattern of satiric deglamorizing of legendary figures. Margaret Walker Alexander has admitted the indebtedness of her early poetry to Walt Whitman and Carl Sandburg. Melvin Tolson had poetic predecessors in T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. Frank Yerby, for *The Foxes of Harrow*, borrowed characters from Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*. The practice has continued even among Black-Americans of the 1960's. James Baldwin's "The Man Child" reminds one of D. H. Lawrence's tone. William Kelley's first novel, *A Different Drummer*, bears unmistakable resemblances to William Faulkner's work. LeRoi Jones has roots in Dante and in Kafka. Many of Ed Bullins' dramatic devices can be paralleled with expressionistic/nonrepresentational experiments of some Europeans and Americans. Adrienne Kennedy, briefly a pupil of dramatist Edward Albee, has adopted his absurdist style. Numerous other examples can be provided to demonstrate that many Black-American writers seem to have imitated the practices of respected white writers even more obviously than they have followed the practices of earlier black writers.

Another and possibly more important cause of the fragmentation of the Black-American tradition is the development of straw man comparisons between black and white authors--an act for which literary historians, critics, and publishers are solely responsible. Sometimes the historians or literary critics may have adopted this practice innocently but naively in an effort to explain the Black-American writer. That is, historians sometimes have drawn illustrative analogies from the works of white writers to familiarize a white audience with Black-American literature. Let me use my own sin as an example. Writing about the work of Langston Hughes as a dramatist, I have compared him with white dramatists despite the fact that he is as distinctively and innovatively Black-American as any dramatist before 1965. Similarly, in an effort to win recognition for Jessie Fauset, William Stanley Braithwaite identified her with Jane Austen. Such comparisons, of course, distort attention from the possible continuity of a Black-American literary tradition.

In other instances, however, the forcing of the resemblance may be deliberate. Consider the pathetic tale of Roosevelt Smith by Frank Marshall Davis:

ROOSEVELT SMITH

You ask what happened to Roosevelt Smith

Well . . .

Conscience and the critics got him

Roosevelt Smith was the only dusky child born and bred in the
village of Pine City, Nebraska

At college they worshipped the novelty of a black poet and
predicted fame

At twenty-three he published his first book . . . the critics said
he imitated Carl Sandburg, Edgar Lee Masters and Vachel
Lindsay . . . they raved about a wealth of racial material
and the charm of darky dialect

So for two years Roosevelt worked and observed in Dixie

At twenty-five a second book . . . Negroes complained about
plantation scenes and said he dragged Aframerica's good name
in the mire for gold . . . "Europe," they said, "honors
Dunbar for his 'Ships that Pass in the Night' and not for
his dialect which they don't understand"

For another two years Roosevelt strove for a different medium of
expression

At twenty-seven a third book . . . The critics said the density of
Gertrude Stein or T. S. Eliot hardly fitted the simple
material to which a Negro had access

For another two years Roosevelt worked

At twenty-nine his fourth book . . . the critics said a Negro had
no business imitating the classic forms of Keats, Browning
and Shakespeare . . . "Roosevelt Smith," they announced, "has
nothing original and is merely a blackface white. His
African heritage is a rich source should he use it"

So for another two years Roosevelt went into the interior of
Africa

At thirty-one his fifth book . . . interesting enough, the critics
said, but since it followed nothing done by any white poet it
was probably just a new kind of prose

Day after the reviews came out Roosevelt traded conscience and
critics for the leather pouch and bunions of a mail carrier
and read in the papers until his death how little the American
Negro had contributed to his nation's literature . . .

Notice, Smith's first books are said to be an imitation of Sandburg, Masters, Lindsay, Stein, Eliot, Keats, Shakespeare, Browning. Those authors represent such a wide range of poetic style and substance that it might be difficult for any poet to avoid resembling at least one; yet black Roosevelt Smith is accused of imitation and denounced for it. If we turn from Davis's fictional statement to actuality, we can note similar criticism of Black-Americans. A teacher of American literature castigated Dunbar as an inferior poet, contending that Dunbar merely imitated the dialect of James Whitcomb Riley and did not write it as well. One wonders about the allegation of one reputable critic that Charles Chesnutt would never have conceived of the Conjure Tales if Joel Chandler Harris had not written the Uncle Remus stories. Even black literary historians have forced these comparisons: DuBois blamed Carl van Vechten's influence for McKay's *Home to Harlem* despite McKay's protests that he had written the work before *Nigger Heaven* was published. Amid all these allegations seems to be the belief that, if a black is originating a particular style, there must be a white author somewhere in the woodpile. The argument recalls the old chestnut that black spirituals were merely bad imitations of Protestant hymns. Do not take these allegations lightly. They are a continuation of the myth, deliberately continued for more than a century, that Black-Americans lack creativity. After all, when one believes that "monkey see, monkey do," one need not credit the monkey with creativity.

If you reconsider the tale of Roosevelt Smith, you notice that when he draws from a black tradition his work is dismissed as non-art because no white person has created it first. Such a critical approach might have ruled out Langston Hughes' blues and bop poetry if Hughes had not been part of a literary tradition. My description of these, incidentally, is intended to be suggestive rather than all-inclusive. I will even omit such frequently discussed ideas as uses of and derivations from folk song, folk tale, folklore. For a thorough discussion of such qualities in black poetry, I refer you once more to Stephen Henderson's introduction.

First, purpose. To explain the new directions and emphases of Black Arts writers of the past decade, I identify the "traditional" Black-American writer as one who has sought to educate white America to awareness of the conditions and psychology of Black-Americans and simultaneously to demonstrate his or her proficiency in the use of the styles most respected by white American literary critics. This is a tradition which extends from William Wells Brown to Ernest Gaines in fiction, from Frederick Douglass to Malcolm X in autobiography, from Richard Allen to James Baldwin in essays, from Phillis Wheatley (or at least Frances Harper) to Michael Harper in poetry.

It is a tradition which includes many of the best-known Black-American authors. Because the list is so long, let me identify, in addition to those I have already named, only a representative list of writers: Frank Webb, George Horton, James Weldon Johnson, Georgia D. Johnson, Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Countee Cullen, Arna Bontemps, Melvin Tolson, Robert Hayden, Owen Dodson, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, Gwendolyn Brooks, James Baldwin, Mari Evans, Naomi Madgett, LeRoi Jones (before 1964), and Ernest Gaines.

But there is a parallel movement of Black-American writers, also within the Black-American literary tradition: those who consciously have written for a black audience to educate that audience to awareness of their condition and their need. Here it is not necessary to distinguish writers according to the blackness of their style but will include all who seem to have a common purpose. An abbreviated list must include David Walker, Martin Delaney, Sutton Griggs, Monroe Trotter, Joseph Cotter, Fenton Johnson, Langston Hughes, W. E. B. DuBois, Frank M. Davis, Oscar Micheaux; and in the past decade such Black Arts writers as Amiri Baraka, Don Lee, Sonia Sanchez, Sarah Fabio, The Last Poets, Ed Bullins, Charles Russell, and Joseph Walker.

Although the second list is not as extensive as the first and its members more little-known than those of the former, the fact is that a tradition of Black-American writers can be identified by a purpose distinctive from that of white American authors--either to educate white America to the conditions of blacks or to educate Black-Americans themselves.

Second, genre--form. Black-Americans have not created new genres, but they have shown predilections for particular types. For example, in drama, the pageant has been more important in twentieth century Black-American drama than that of white America, which has minimized community theater in its emphasis on commercial producers. Black-American drama has emphasized a pageantry extending from Willis Richardson, May Miller, W. E. B. DuBois, and Langston Hughes (*Don't You Want to Be Free?*) to Amiri Baraka (*Slave Ship*) and some of the ritualistic drama of the Black Arts movement in the Barbara Ann Teer Theater, the Val Gray Wad Theater in Chicago, and the New Lafayette Theater.

In poetry, the blues form might be considered distinctive. While it may not be considered form, as such, declamatory poetry has been the style of major Black-American poets far more than it has been the style of major white American poets. Dunbar, J. W. Johnson, Hughes, Sterling Brown, and all of the Black Arts poets are merely some who write declamatory poetry, perhaps in continuation of the oral tradition.

I would even suggest the possibility of a distinctive kind of novel which, following the pattern of slave narratives, structures itself according to a(n): description of the conditions of oppression, explanation of the source of the desire to free oneself from oppression, description of the manner of escape from oppression, consideration of whether the new freedom corresponds with the ideal of freedom. This can be considered in analysis of the structure of such well-known novels as *Native Son, The Outsider,* and *Invisible Man*, but also in less well-known novels such as Kristin Hunter's *God Bless the Child.*

Third, literary periods. It is possible to identify periods during which a significant number of writers were following corresponding routes. I am not referring merely to the number of now-unknown poets who used "black" dialect in the decade following Dunbar's first popularity, the numbers who participated in the "coon" shows of the late nineteenth century, or those who paraded the supposed exoticism of the literature of the 1920's. Instead, I am pointing to the best-known black writers from 1890-1910--Chesnutt, Dunbar, DuBois--who tried in numerous ways to demonstrate to white America that blacks should be respected for their virtues. In the 1940's and 1950's, black novelists moved from overtly criticizing the treatment of blacks to emphasizing the similarities between blacks and whites, and finally issues of black life in a world apart from the white community. In the 1960's, of course, many Black-American writers became part of the Black Arts movement. Anytime that it is possible to trace the movements of writers from an identifiable cultural or ethnic group through a century by pointing to patterns of their development, which are different from patterns of the dominant culture of a nation, it should be possible to argue that there is an observable tradition.

Fourth, theme. I would not dispute the fact that some themes used by Black-Americans have been used by other literary groups. For example, Henderson points out that liberation, a major theme of black poets, has been the theme of writers from many countries. Nevertheless, if I am describing the Black-American literary tradition, I am justified in pointing to "liberation" and "survival" as predominant themes--themes which Black-American writers used more frequently than white American authors.

Sterling Brown's list of themes of the Renaissance includes two that are common to many cultures: propaganda of protest and self-revelation. On the other hand, he identifies three themes that are distinctively Black-American:

> A discovery of Africa as a source for race pride, a use of Negro heroes and heroic episodes from American History, a treatment of the Negro masses frequently of the folk, less often of the workers with more understanding and less apology.

There may even be a distinction in the Black-American's treatment of a theme such as color-consciousness which generated such works as Brown's *Clotel*, Chesnutt's *The House Behind the Cedars*, Johnson's *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, Thurman's *The Blacker the Berry*, Schuyler's *Black No More*, Fauset's *Comedy American Style*, and Himes' *The Third Generation*. White American authors who have developed the theme of color most often have limited themselves to such obvious issues as "passing" or the internal tension of the mulatto who strives for acceptance in white society. Perceptively, black writers have found more varied conflicts. Fauset and Himes both show the intrafamilial tensions caused by a mother who favors her children according to the degree with which they resemble Caucasians. Thurman describes an Afro-American woman frustrated because of racial discrimination and because she, herself, demands a Caucasian lover.

Moreover, even when Black-Americans do not use color consciousness as a theme, they frequently "saturate" their works with awareness of color. Dunbar's villains are yellow-skinned; McKay rejoices in his descriptions of varied colors in *Home to Harlem*; Himes picturesquely emphasizes the color of his characters; and so on.

Fifth, although Black-American characterization may not seem distinctive from that of white authors, certain types of characters frequently appear in black works that do not in works which whites have written about blacks. One such is the gossip, or particularly the church gossip. The type is obviously the narrator of Dunbar's *The Party* but appears even as recently as in Baldwin's *The Amen Corner*. One type that I am almost tempted to reject each time as unreal, except that blacks repeatedly create her, is the wiry, somewhat childlike but wise, grandmother who appears in such works as Louis Peterson's *Take a Giant Step* and Joseph Walker's *The River Niger*. In fact, Miss Jane Pittman, in her old age, resembles this type.

Sixth, style. Style also has Black-American elements coming from black influences. The influence of the oral tradition is frequently stated but less frequently analyzed. Yet, consider the use of certain rhetorical devices. A significant number of seemingly dissimilar black writers all have written black sermons in their poetry or fiction, almost as if the sermon were an essential creative element. James Weldon Johnson's rendering of the sermon is well known. But Dunbar, Countee Cullen, Zora Neale Hurston, Richard Wright (*The Man Who Lived Underground*), Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin all have written conscious imitations of black sermons in fictional works which vary widely in theme and purpose.

One needs to explain to white audiences such rhetorical devices as "signifying" and "the dozens"; yet one finds black writers using them as a natural part of the dialogue of their characters. The call-and-response, a common feature of the service of some black churches, is used almost casually by such a writer as Ellison in "Mr. Toussan," a short story in which two black youths alternate in roles as caller and responder. Numerous authors have drawn from the riches of black metaphorical language and black idiom.

Finally, there is a tone sometimes identified as the "blues tone," which becomes a strange mixture of humor and pathos which runs through the work of even the most serious and elegant writers. In Ellison's *Invisible Man*, for example, there is the incident in the paint factor when the protagonist, in the midst of a fight, thinks that he has been stabbed but discovers that his opponent's false teeth have fallen out. This mixture of pathos and ironic humor I generally do not find in white American literature.

My abbreviated list suggests, I hope, that more research is necessary to determine whether older Afro-American works reveal a previously unsuspected derivation from Black-American cultural styles and traditions. For instance, as I have said in an earlier paper:

> Many black writers have consciously imitated the sermons of Afro-American preachers; but how many works by Afro-Americans derive their form (or imagery and rhetoric) from the author's unconscious echo of sermons? When they are judged according to the literary prescriptions of Henry James, W. E. B. Dubois's novels seem to be a chaotic mixture of fantasy and social realism: Does the mixture merely demonstrate DuBois's ineptness, his failure to blend the regional romance popular at the end of the nineteenth century with the social criticism which became popular in the early years of the twentieth; or does the mixture reveal DuBois's unconscious echo of a black preacher's characteristic use of allegorical romance as a device to vivify the social message in his sermon?

Dunbar's earliest stories in *Folks from Dixie* are criticized for structural weaknesses. Since Dunbar handles narratives well in poetry, is it possible that in prose he was imitating the rambling quality of the folktale.

How should I conclude? Undoubtedly, I have disappointed some of you who wished a vigorous debate on "How black can we be?" Since I have resisted that opening, let me merely restate: There is a Black-American literary tradition. It is black. And it is American. Instead of spending time debating the question of its existence, let our scholars follow the practice of that artist who, seeing his first elephant, drew what he saw without worrying whether what he saw was real. And let our writers follow Alain Locke's admonition to derive substance and style from their cultural heritage, but let them also have the freedom to borrow where they wish with the knowledge that, in doing so, they expand the Black-American literary tradition rather than diminish it.

PART II

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

The section on "Contemporary Issues" addresses itself to a series of problems and imperatives primarily related to the quality of life in minority communities. Three essays on the conditions which migrant workers face open the section. Alvin Sunseri's study of the migrant farm worker communities of Iowa discloses the existence of a fatalistic and present-oriented people concentrating on survival. Despite the emergence of the Migrant Action Program in 1968, Sunseri contends that migrant workers must have a reasonable minimum wage, access to welfare benefits, and must be protected from the company store's exploitation if their disgraceful condition is to even begin to be eliminated.

Manuel Escobedo, son of a migrant worker, agrees with Sunseri and amplifies on the problem of "presentism" among migrant farm workers. He sees the forces of poverty and the social factors of values and religion as having produced the characteristic of presentism, the drive to survive, and to alleviate the pangs of hunger. Simultaneously, however, Escobedo sees migrant values that are useful as well, including the concern for family and respect of children for their elders.

Guillermo Lux describes the origins and attraction to *la causa* in the southwest United States embodied in the National Farm Workers Organization. *La causa* gives form to the migrant workers' alienation and disaffection, gives hope for a change, a meaning to identity while one faces the reality of migrant serfdom, and a voice to the previously voiceless. All three writers and analysts agree, while each stresses a different aspect of the problem and potential solutions for migrant workers.

Erwin France and Beverly Hurst address themselves to the problems of minorities in the city of Chicago. France describes the experimental Quality of Life Center founded in 1974. The Center is devoted to the research and discovery of models to alleviate physical, emotional, economic, and social elements of deprivation that result in a poor quality of life for minority residents of Chicago. Hurst evaluates the federal and city efforts to improve economic opportunity for black Americans in Chicago and concludes that the programs and money merely allowed blacks to maintain their economic position between 1960 and 1970. Without such programs, Ms. Hurst suggests the result would have been social and economic disaster for Chicago's black population. Were a policy of benign neglect adopted in the 1970's, she warns, the same erosion of opportunity would probably result.

Dietrich Reitzes concludes that the number and roles of young blacks have substantially increased in the medical profession as a result of the National Medical Fellowship Program. The Program has helped to improve black opportunity and to erode racial barriers while moderately improving health care delivery to minority communities. Nonetheless, Reitzes contends that to have a substantially improved impact on the community, the nation must make radical changes in helping to prepare medical professionals and in improving health care delivery systems.

Roger Pulliam attempts to describe the dilemmas faced by minority administrators in the 1970's. Originally hired to help prevent the threat of disruption to the university, his role in the 1970's is less well defined. Pulliam suggests that the minority administration must now help to develop viable educational policy changes designed to help produce a more responsible and accountable pluralistic society dedicated to widening opportunity.

In the section's final selection, George Taylor sees the commitment to affirmative action as a proper model to begin to more effectively realize democratic precepts devoted to equal justice and opportunity. His analysis of conflict and order processes leads him to the conviction that an order model based upon affirmative action applied to the university can provide the rest of the society with the proper examples.

- JAMES R. PARKER

THE MIGRANT WORKERS OF IOWA

ALVIN R. SUNSERI

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN IOWA

CEDAR FALLS, IOWA

Migrant workers in the United States are the slaves of the twentieth century as the slaves and peons were of the nineteenth. Comparatively, the latter groups were oftentimes treated better than the former. Reasonable treatment of slaves was certainly not the result of the master's humanistic motivations, but rather his monetary investment. The conditions of peons oftentimes was more favorable because of the common ethnic heritage of the masters and servants. Today, however, the migrants are forced to perform their slave labor tasks in an environment which alienates them--a result of Anglo contempt and indifference.

Approximately 500,000 migrants cross the country each year in broken down cars and trucks similar to those used by the Oklahomans in their exodus to California during the 1930's. The majority originate from the Rio Grande Valley--a land they love despite the lack of adequate employment there--and seldom realize the land of milk and honey as those before them had. Rather, they are fated to live in filthy, crowded shacks, and forced to sleep on bug-infested mattresses. They eat in foul-smelling kitchens and work in fields under the scorching sun for wages a beggar might reject. Moreover, supervisors extort much of their pay with exorbitant charges for food, lodging, and their only luxury--warm beer.

Equally dehumanizing is the social discrimination which the workers are forced to endure; migrants are subjected to the same instances of Jim Crowism as blacks and Native-Americans were and are still occasionally forced to tolerate. Why are such conditions of human exploitation and degradation permitted in the land of the free? How has such a situation of social injustice evolved?

Striving to partially answer these questions and develop a better understanding of the plight of all migrants, I have examined migrant servitude in a microcosmic fashion through the observation of conditions in a restricted area--the state of Iowa. In addition to the condition of migrants in Iowa is a discussion of private and public action programs designed to assist these all but invisible people who form a forgotten minority; and finally, in the concluding section, I have proposed several measures which, if implemented, may result in the improvement of the shameful conditions imposed upon today's migrants and ultimately prevent their future reoccurrences among migrant children.

Why was Iowa chosen for this study? Migrants are seldom, if ever, employed to harvest major grain crops, such as corn and soybeans. Rather, their services are imported to harvest measurable quantities of tomatoes, potatoes, asparagus, and more limited quantities of sugar beets. Likewise, two other agricultural enterprises, nurseries and canning industries, provide substantial employment opportunities for migrant workers. That the state is not a traditional anti-Mexican stronghold, such as states in the Southwest or on the Great Plains, is another reason for choosing Iowa for this inquiry. Moreover, migrant camps are concentrated in only a few areas and not spread throughout the entire state; therefore, difficulty in research has been minimized to one extent. Additionally, the Migrant Action Program, an activist organization which has accumulated formidable quantities of information concerning the living conditions of workers, has greatly facilitated the task.

The people of the lower Rio Grande Valley, whether Mexican or Mexican-American, above all love the land. This affection for the soil might well explain their remarkable patience with, and somewhat fatalistic acceptance of, the harsh conditions which society has inflicted on them. Indeed, in interviews with ex-migrants, I discovered that even those few who have achieved a middle class status eagerly tend to their garden plots as often as possible with loving care. Also, they believe the land should not be bought or sold--it seems to all of them to be a gift of God. The migrant society is non-competitive. The migrants naturally accept Mexican-Americans into their midst without the necessity of proving themselves. They, unlike Anglos, are not future oriented; rather, their major concern is the present. Perhaps in their quest for survival they are forced to think only of today.

Mexican-Americans are not youth oriented but respect the wisdom of age. They find security in the family or clan and not in money, for they have far too little to extract security from money. There are no formal, social, or religious controls, nor do the Mexican-Americans understand legalized rules and regulations. They believe in the group controls that hold the family together and the "inborn" beliefs that form a faith which cannot be taught. Mexican-Americans believe in a common destiny of souls; pain is followed by pleasure, joy by grief. They are fatalists; life is sad but beautiful. Anglos are against God, and they are with God. Finally, these people believe that it is God's will that they are victims oftentimes of adverse circumstances. (Que será, será.)

The values I have described are traditional ones. The younger Chicanos are inclined to reject this Weltanschaung in favor of a more tough-minded approach. They want to retain the expressed virtues of La Raza while adopting the more pleasurable materialistic features of the Anglo culture.

Even before the Mexican War, a few Mexicans infiltrated into Iowa. They came from New Mexico across the Santa Fe Trail via St. Louis, which was really a two-way street. It was not until the second decade of the twentieth century, however, that they arrived in sizeable numbers in areas around Ft. Madison, Oelwein, Waterloo, Des Moines, Dubuque, and other railroad centers. There they were hired as section hands, and eventually some remained as permanent residents. Today their descendants are middle class oriented, refer to themselves as Latin-Americans, and disassociate themselves from migrants. Indeed, even the migrant who has achieved an element of success is inclined to forget his former status as soon as possible.

It was not until the post-World War I era that the great exodus of agricultural workers to the United States occurred. The shortage of farm labor during the "Great War" greatly increased the appeal of the migrant importation policy among farmers while Herbert Hoover's favorable response to this plan provided reinforcement for its implementation. Unfortunately, the plans were only in the initial stages of development when the war ended. The idea for securing migrant services, however, remained implanted in farmers' minds. Consequently, when the migration quota systems of the early 1920's were formulated, restricting European and Asiatic immigration, farmers could not help but recall the possibility of employing Mexicans from south of the Rio Grande and Mexican-Americans from the north bank. Indeed, there is strong evidence that growers secretly lobbied to exclude Mexicans from the Exclusion Acts. The gates were thus open for the flood of immigrants who crossed the Rio Grande during the decade.

The Northern Sugar Refinery contracted with the first migrants to come to Mason City. These workers, according to the persons I interviewed, formed the base for the Mexican-American population that resides in Mason City today. The ones who worked in the fields, however, did not settle but returned to the Rio Grande Valley on a seasonal basis. As is the case now, few cared to spend the winter in Iowa. Like the descendants of railroad workers, many of the children and grandchildren of these migrants have achieved a minimal subsistence economic status.

Migrants, along with Jamaicans, were employed in other areas in Iowa during the 1920's. On the average, over 2,000 workers traveled to Iowa to pick tomatoes and asparagus, harvest potatoes, and care for nursery plants in various sections of the state. Their wages were as atrocious as in other states, and, according to the records, no one seemed concerned with their dismal conditions of existence.

Comparatively, migrant workers suffered as much, if not more, than other peoples during the 1930's, for the depression ruined their chances for employment in Iowa. However, inasmuch as the majority of those who were permanently settled in the state had claims to American citizenship, they, at least, were not subjected to the trauma of deportation as were many Mexicans in California and the Southwest. Nevertheless, unemployed Anglos took their places on the farms and, despite poor wages, were better fed and housed than the migrants before and after the depression. Indeed, many ate their dinners at the same table with the grower's family.

World War II radically altered the situation. The manpower shortage resulted in an emergency need on all farms for cheap labor. Jamaicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans were recruited to migrate to farms on the east coast. Prisoners of war were employed to harvest crops throughout the country, and teenagers were encouraged to violate child labor laws to meet the needs of growers. However, there yet remained such a grave shortage of farm labor that Mexicans and Mexican-American migrants were once again solicited to move to the southwestern, western, and midwestern agricultural sections of the United States.

Many growers felt this need would end with the termination of hostilities. They were mistaken. In the years of affluence that followed the war, so few Anglos were available for work on the farms that the

Table I

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Year	Number	Per Cent of Total Immigration
1820-30	4,818	3.2
1831-40	6,599	1.1
1841-50	3,271	.2
1851-60	3,078	.1
1861-70	2,191	.1
1871-80	5,162	.2
1881-90	1,913	-
1891-00	971	-
1901-10	49,642	.6
1911-20	219,004	3.8
1921-30	459,259	11.1

Table II

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Year	Number	Per Cent of Total Immigration
1911	19,889	2.3
1912	23,238	2.8
1913	11,926	1.0
1914	14,614	1.2
1915	12,340	3.8
1916	18,425	6.2
1917	17,869	6.0
1918	18,524	16.8
1919	29,818	21.1
1920	52,361	12.2
1921	30,758	3.8
1922	19,551	6.3
1923	63,768	12.2
1924	89,336	12.6
1925	32,964	11.2
1926	43,316	14.2
1927	67,721	20.2
1928	59,016	19.2
1929	40,154	14.3
1930	11,915	5.2
1931	2,627	3.4
1932	1,674	1.7
1933	1,514	.6

demand for cheap labor remained a permanent problem for the growers. Consequently, the flow of workers from both north and south of the Rio Grande continued unabated despite the restrictive legislation of the 1960's that was openly violated because of opposition on the part of both migrants and growers.

During this period the same attitude of contempt and lack of concern for Mexican-Americans that characterized the 1920's was continued with little corrective legislation taking place in most of the United States and none in Iowa. It was not until 1964 that the first group of Anglos organized in Iowa to promote reforms in the treatment of Mexican-American migrants.

In Mason City, Iowa, on a sultry July day in 1964, a young nineteen-year-old girl stopped an already irate man who was suffering from the heat and pleaded with him to teach her to read. As the product of a progressive education tradition, the man experienced such outrage that he called together a number of clergymen and other concerned citizens to discuss how such horrendous conditions could be remedied. Thus materialized the Mason City Migrant Relations Committee, forerunner of the Migrant Action Program.

Soon after organizing, the committee discovered there were equally grave matters among migrants to be concerned about in addition to the lack of educational opportunities. They were shocked at the opposition of the growers to their programs of educational assistance and appalled at the wretched housing conditions they witnessed in the camps in the vicinity of Mason City. Not even the water was fit to drink. In one instance, twelve people were discovered living in an old school bus that was converted to house migrants. At times, toilet facilities consisted only of a filthy, stinking hole in the ground. After viewing a group of thirty people lined up to use but one shower, one committee member described the conditions with one word, "abominable." He further told how a camp in southern Minnesota forced workers to pay 75 cents to take a shower. "I think," he reminisced, "to a lesser degree we felt the same guilt over our neglect as Germans might have felt after discovering what happened at Dachau for the first time." This neo-progressive sense of collective guilt incited in the committee a moral fervor for reform that was economically buttressed by the advent of the days of the Great Society. Indeed, some of the programs of reform were designed by Lyndon Baines Johnson to particularly assist Mexican-Americans. He remembered the plight of these people from his days as a school teacher in west Texas. Among the agencies that were called upon to assist the migrants were the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare.

By 1968, the committee changed its name to Migrant Action Program and continued to depend upon the government agencies for assistance. Health programs, including visiting nurses, clinics, hospitalization, and care for children and the obviously sick, were introduced. Additionally, the Office of Economic Opportunity funded vocational and other job opportunity projects, while the state of Iowa provided money, designed to improve health conditions, and promoted the founding of day care centers to improve conditions for young children and infants. Other agencies were successfully solicited to conduct other pilot projects.

The Migrant Action Program then expanded its operations to include not only Iowa, but southern Minnesota as well. Realizing the sufferings which migrants experienced when they ran out of food while traveling, or sometimes while employed, they obtained sums to provide food during times of emergency. Finally, special legal grants were also obtained to assist migrants and to more effectively combat the increased opposition of the growers to reforms. By 1969, under the able leadership of Shirley Sandage, the Migrant Action Program had won recognition as a most viable and effective agency. The short range programs of action had provided numerous instances of improved health conditions and emergency services for the agricultural workers.

The members of the Migrant Action Program never desired to perpetuate themselves as an agency. They believe this would be self-defeating. Rather, they feel they can only succeed if they eradicate the abuses that necessitate their continued existence as a program. Such an attitude, of course, is sheer heresy to the bureaucratic mentality. It also means that the money appropriated must be carefully husbanded if the short range goals of relief and education, together with the long range one of eliminating the basic causes of social distress, are to be realized. These goals make mandatory the effective legislative action that can only be accomplished through lobbying activities by such agencies as the Migrant Action Program. Such pressures must not be blatant; federal or state funds cannot be employed in support of any such tactics. Utilization of funds in this manner is illegal and would remove badly needed financial support from economic relief and education programs. Despite such conditions, the directors of the program and their fellow workers always keep in mind their goals of permanent relief in their desire to replace the band-aid treatments they are presently administering. The philosophy of the program was best summarized by the first director, Shirley Sandage, who realized that the small sums of relief money could not effect permanent social changes for the betterment of the migrant sector. "Rather," she insisted, "the only way to bring about permanent change is through the legislative action that will continue long after the Migrant Action Program ends its functions in Iowa."

The flexibility of the Migrant Action Program is one of the major factors in its success. Each year, since its inception, a survey is made that is designed to determine the priority of needs among the migrant workers for the coming year. Early in the operation of the program, it was discovered that while food and health needs are always present, others changed from year to year. Thus, such concerns as education, housing, job training, and day care might not be as well funded as necessary in a given year because of other demands.

The Emergency Food and Medical Services, under the auspices of the Migrants Opportunity Center, a Michigan based operation which the federal government has subsidized annually until this year, provides financial resources for the migrant food relief operations. As a result, thousands of migrants received emergency food allotments in addition to the equally important medical services. The funds, however, are too meager, and it is only through careful manipulation that the program has been able to provide the badly needed relief. For example, in 1974 over 3,000 individuals were provided food after the Migrant Action Program expended approximately $4,000 to obtain matching food stamp funds enabling the migrants to purchase over $28,000 worth of food. Unfortunately, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act is assuming the financial responsibility of the Emergency Food and Medical Services, to a lesser degree where financial support is concerned. Consequently, the Migrant Action Program will receive less money in 1975 than in prior years for a labor force that will total close to 3,000 migrants. Things could be catastrophic for them if they are stranded and unemployed as they have been in past years.

There is hope, however, that public pressures may prevent a repeat of such tragic occurrences of neglect. The Muscatine incident of 1974, so well publicized through the cooperative efforts of the Migrant Action Workers, the *Des Moines Register*, and the *Chicago Daily News*, may well be responsible, to a great extent, for a potential change in behavior. The incident began when an early frost killed off much of the tomato crop in the area. Without warning, workers were laid off and stranded as they had no money to return to Texas. Migrant Action Program people moved in and cut through the red tape in order to enable migrants to purchase food stamps with the scant funds they had. Little could be done, however, to improve the poor heating facilities in the shanties which the workers inhabited. A story in a Sunday issue of the *Des Moines Register* describing the plight of the migrants aroused public support and sympathy to an unprecedented degree. The article made a particular impression because, either by accident or choice, the editor placed the story of the workers' starvation next to one that told of the luxurious food services provided for football players at the University of Iowa. Consequently, cooperative efforts on the part of volunteers, contributors, and the Migrant Action Program, along with aid from the Governor of Texas, assisted the migrants to return to their homes. It is to be hoped that public pressures will force state officials to more carefully supervise arrangements between the growers and the workers if such shameful incidents are to be prevented in the future.

The Migrant Action Program sponsors health services such as preventative medicine activities (for example, physical examinations), programs designed to avoid accidents, courses in medical education, as well as numerous volunteer activities designed to detect diseases before it is too late for effective treatment.

Equally important are the legislative activities that have been supported by the Migrant Action Program designed to improve health as well as educational conditions in the camps. Indeed, it was not until the Migrant Action Program lobbied for such action that the state was forced to pass housing and child labor laws. Before that time, the counties were entrusted with the responsibility of supervising the camps. Lacking funds and most vulnerable to pressures from local growers, seldom, if ever, did the county boards of supervisors take any effective actions to correct the abuses that came to their attention. By 1969, however, with Senator John Tapscott leading the way, laws were passed over the opposition of growers and the Farm Bureau authorizing the State Department of Health to inspect migrant camps. Specifically, they were commissioned to ensure that the water was safe to drink and toilet facilities adequate, that showers were sufficient in number and adequate living space provided, and finally, the law called for proper lighting in the houses and screens in the windows.

Child labor legislation also was passed as the result of the efforts of the Migrant Action Program and Tapscott as early as 1967. "How else," declared Mrs. Sandage, "can the children of the migrants be taught to uplift themselves and not continue to exist in such dismal conditions?" The legislation prohibited employment of children under ten years of age and restricted the hours of employment of those under sixteen to hours when the schools for migrant children were not in session.

The 1967 Child Labor Law, however, lacked teeth because it did not place the responsibility for proof of age on the growers. Consequently, Tapscott introduced legislation designed to force the growers to bear the burden of proof of ages. Despite vigorous opposition from grower representative Richard Drake who, probably with Farm Bureau support, attempted to have the state bear the burden of proof of ages, the bill was passed without any debilitating amendments.

As Tapscott noted in a recent conversation, "It is one thing to pass a law but a different ball game when it comes to enforcing a law." To date, the inspectors in many cases have been inclined to overlook serious deficiencies on some farms, or else make incredibly stupid judgments. In one instance, charges were brought against one of the more enlightened growers for lack of proper lighting in the yard. At the same time, another grower was allowed to continue using bug-infested mattresses. "It is easy to explain," said Tapscott. "The inspectors pick only on the small growers while avoiding those who have powerful Farm Bureau connections."

It is to be hoped, once again, that the Muscatine and other well-publicized incidents will force the state officials to be more diligent, at least in the immediate future, in their charge to enforce this legislation designed to protect the migrants.

Drawing on other sources of state and federal financial support, the Migrant Action Program also established Head Start and day care centers that include programs of education, not only for the children of migrants, but for blacks and Anglos as well. The purpose is not only to educate, but also to provide a common ground of meeting and mutual understanding between these children before they can be taught to hate. Job opportunity and additional education services, as well as legal and counseling services, were also provided in recent years. In addition, numerous programs designed to prevent emergencies were recently introduced. For example, there is now published a directory listing places where migrants can seek assistance.

Despite these services, the migrants will continue to face an uncertain future, largely because of their life style. They are a mobile people and, consequently, lack the political power and education to undertake the programs of political initiative necessary to achieve the badly needed minimum wage law--the crux of the problem. Although collective bargaining is an alternative, efforts to use it in eastern Iowa several years past ended in disaster; and the probability is that such actions in the future would also result in failure. Crew chiefs and growers, threatening dismissal for involvement in union activities, intimidate workers and render organization of this largely illiterate, non-English speaking group, nearly impossible.

There is only one way for migrant workers to achieve some element of justice while continuing their life style--guaranteed wage legislation must be initiated at the state and federal levels as a result of public pressures strong enough to overcome the resistance of the growers and the all-powerful Farm Bureau. Pressure tactics can only be used effectively if the public is enlightened through programs of education and publicity, such as took place after the Muscatine and Estherville incidents, along with the programs of action as originated with the Migrant Action Program. Continued efforts for equitable conditions of employment can force the growers to give way. For example, no man was more adamant in his opposition to improved conditions for the workers than Earl Ferris of the Ferris Nurseries in Hampton. On the first occasion of a visit from a Migrant Action Program worker in 1970, who wanted to inform the migrants of Migrant Action Program services, Ferris simply told the worker to "go to hell." Yet, subtle but consistent legal pressures from the Migrant Action Program forced him to become at least reluctantly cooperative by July. Moreover, federal contracts such as those granted to the Kennedy Farms near Clear Lake, Iowa, have partially been responsible for that migrant camp's reputation for having the best facilities for migrants in the state. It is likely that owners do not wish visiting government contractors to see any "dirty laundry."

What type of legislation is required? First of all, laws must be passed which will guarantee a minimum wage for migrant workers, not covered at this time, that is in conformity with national minimum wage. In recent years, some workers still received but $1.30 per hour.

Secondly, there should be a program of certification that will enable bona fide migrants to be issued an identification card allowing them emergency access to all agencies providing welfare benefits. The federal government should initiate and regulate this program, as the needs of the migrants transcend state lines.

Thirdly, none of the above benefits will be fully effective unless the greatest element of exploitation, the traditional company store, is outlawed. In 1970, Tapscott introduced a minimum wage bill that included stringent wage collection restrictions that would have made impossible the wage deduction abuses of the past. In places like Estherville and at the Ellsworth Plants, workers have been forced to pay subsistence and transportation expenses amounting sometimes to two-thirds of their pay for items not worth one-tenth of their pay. The above recommended legislation should be passed at the federal or state levels, or both. Happily, last week a wage collection bill that passed both Houses in Iowa included agricultural employees. It is to be hoped there are no loopholes that might result in farmers' non-compliance with the law.

A recent rebroadcast of Edward R. Murrow's program in which he showed the grim conditions of migrant workers in Florida in the 1960's brought to mind the ironies the migrant worker encounters in America. Since then, from Cape Canaveral, so close to the farm where Murrow filmed the scenes of distress, we launched a man to the moon. Today, twelve years later, we have yet to experience as a nation the compassion necessary to relieve the disgraceful plight of these forgotten people. And, until we make a national attempt to attain the goals which the Migrant Action Program has outlined in its Iowa program, these conditions of abysmal poverty will continue to haunt us. The hope is that the people of Iowa will show the way. Eight years of residence in the state has convinced the author that Iowans are a paradoxical people and capable of such action.

A MIGRANT WORKER'S COMMENT ON ALVIN SUNSERI'S PAPER

MAXIMO ESCOBEDO

MIGRANT ACTION PROGRAM

MASON CITY, IOWA

Mr. Sunseri emphasized that migrants are present oriented and give little thought to the future: "Perhaps in their quest for survival, they are forced to think only of today." I say that it is, in fact, this quest for survival which has caused the migrant to form a unique sub-culture which is completely centered on the present rather than on the future. The causes of this include economic necessity, social factors, and religion.

Think back to when you were a child. How many times did people ask, "And what will you be when you grow up?" Nobody ever asked me that question because they took it for granted that I would work in the field like my father and grandfather, and that I would give the money I earned to my father until I got married. What else could a migrant child be but a migrant when he grows up? He quits school in the fifth or sixth grade so that he can work in the fields to help put food on the table. The field is where he was nursed as a baby while his mother was working. It's where he played as a child so that his mother could keep an eye on him; it's where he learned the facts of life as a teenager; it's where he met his first love; it's where he grew up from sunrise to sunset almost every day as long as he can remember. Mr. Sunseri said that we are "lovers of the land and have affection for the soil." That land and that soil is the only thing that put tortillas and frijoles on our table. It is the difference between living and dying. For this we respect that land. How can we afford to not love it?

Above all, it is poverty that forces the migrant to think only of the present. Migrants are on their way to Iowa right now to work asparagus fields in Reinbeck. I assure you that at this moment one of those migrants is thinking such thoughts as: "Where will I get money for gas to get all the way to Reinbeck? I wonder if the fan belt will hold out until we get to Iowa? What will we eat tonight? I've only got $15 left. What if it rains? Will the grower give us an advance? I hope San Juanita gets better--we can't afford a doctor. Why doesn't she stop crying? I'm three months behind on the car payment. I wonder if they'll take it away."

When they finally get to Reinbeck, that $15 will be gone. If the weather keeps on like it is now, it will probably rain. San Juanita will probably still be sick. The gas gauge will read empty. They will once more be at the mercy of the grower--the "patron." The grower will give them a contract to sign. Even if the migrant can read it, he won't understand the legal points. All he will understand is that the grower is paying 6¢ a pound this year. He has a roof over his head even if it is only one room, and the grower said that he would lend him $25 to buy food until it quits raining. Security at last.

Have you any idea how hard asparagus snapping is? That migrant will have to walk stooped over along the rows in mud from six in the morning to seven at night. He will have to pick thirty-five pounds of asparagus an hour in order to just make a minimum wage. He goes back to that one room shack in the evening, washes up in a shared bath house, eats his tortillas and frijoles, and you expect him to want to go to adult education classes from eight to ten so that he can escape from the migrant stream? I assure you that after working fourteen hours in the field, all he can think about is to crawl into bed in order to get up at dawn the next morning, whether he feels like it or not. The more asparagus he can pick, the more money he will have to catch up on those car payments. That is an immediate problem, and one that is far more pressing than to learn to read and write so that one day he will be able to get a better job.

Most growers pay in cash, from which the migrant is supposed to pay taxes. He is also responsible for paying into Social Security. Most migrants don't even know what Social Security is; and, even if they understood it, they couldn't possibly pay for it. Migrants can't afford health insurance premiums, either. Have you ever tried to get into a hospital without insurance? Have you ever tried to see a doctor with no money? Is it any wonder that *curanderos*, or witch doctors, are very important to the migrant, even in 1975? Poor health is something that migrants must live with. Even if you're sick, you only think of getting well. You don't think about insurance premiums, or a well-balanced diet, or good home health practices, or personal hygiene. Your only concern is that if you get too sick you won't be able to work in the field, and if you don't work in the field, you don't eat.

Economic necessity is the major cause of migrants thinking only of the present. They are poor, and poverty has been a way of life. Thus, generation after generation the migrants have developed a unique culture all their own--a culture which grew out of poverty and is based on the present.

The family is the most important social circle to which the migrant belongs. Little thought is given to individual values. The family's present welfare is a matter of concern to every adult member. When I speak of family, I don't mean just mother, father, and children. I mean *compadres, comadres, padrinos, madrinas, primos,* and *cunados*. I mean an extended family group that depends on each other for survival and security. The oldest members of that family are highly respected--they made it through a hard life, they are much wiser than we are. We go to them for advice. This respect is so entrenched that, even now, I, like most of my peers, would never dare to smoke or drink in front of my parents. Children's opinions are not asked. Children don't participate in decision making.

Until they get married, all decisions are made by migrants' parents. They must turn over all money to their parents. They don't have to concern themselves with problems. They'll have their own soon enough. Children are never taught to think for themselves or about their future, or how to develop alternatives to their problems. Children are children and, if their mother has her way, they will remain in the security of the family forever. When a migrant compares his status in society, that comparison is based on his family's values. I received my GED and am the educated one from my family. I've escaped poverty and am successful in the eyes of my family, therefore I am successful. The basis for comparison lies within our own culture--our family and our peers. The comparison centers on where I am now, not where I will be five years from now.

Education is a strong measure of success in the Anglo culture. Migrant families seldom encourage their children to get a good education. Families need their children to work in the fields. The father, who in most cases can't read or write, does not see the value of an education. He only knows that to put food in the children's mouths, they must work. A desire to eat is a lot more urgent than hunger for education.

I remember being slapped by my teacher for speaking Spanish in my school in San Antonio. Mexicans in South Texas weren't supposed to get a good education. If alternatives to the migrant life style are not learned at home and they are not learned in school, is it any wonder that the migrant family seldom considers their future? Problem solving techniques are far too complex for the average migrant.

Another important aspect of the migrant culture that is present oriented is his religion. I don't know whether religion is the cause or result of migrant concern with the present. I think it has its beginning with the Spanish priests who concentrated too much on "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." I suppose they couldn't do anything about the poverty they saw, so instead, they preached a religion which made the poverty a little easier to accept. Religion touches every aspect of the migrant's life. To a migrant, God completely controls his destiny. Poverty is God's will, and no migrant would dare to try to change God's will. You must accept it; "*El futuro esta en las manos de dios*" (the future is in God's hands) is a common expression. There is nothing we can do about it, so why worry. If there is an immediate problem, such as an illness or no food or no money, the first thing a migrant does is to light a candle to ask the Virgin or their favorite Saint to solve the problem. The Virgin, after all, knows a lot more than he does. If the Virgin wants to help, she will; and if she doesn't, one has to accept it. I've heard a phrase from the Anglo religion which I had never heard when I was a child, that is, "God helps those who help themselves." This does not sound like the same God that I know. If the Virgin or Saints don't offer a solution, many times the migrant practices a mild form of witchcraft. If the grower doesn't pay the bonus at the end of the season and the Virgin doesn't make him pay, perhaps the "*Mal de Ojo*" or a curse will do the trick. The migrant never considers legal action to be an alternative. In the end, if neither the Virgin nor the Saints nor the curse work, it must be God's will, so, *que será será.*

In summary, it is my opinion that religion, social factors, and, above all, economic necessity are reasons for the migrants' orientation to the present. It is not my intention to criticize the migrant culture. In many ways migrants are more secure within their family structures than are people of other cultures. Migrants have a strong respect for the basic values of honesty, trust, and respect for life itself. There is only one way to retain those values and still be able to consider alternatives to the migrant stream. Mr. Sunseri is right when he says that "in their quest for survival, they are forced to think only of today." We can remove the word survival with legislation that would force growers to pay a living wage. All we ask is for migrant compensation to be equal to migrant work. Until we do that, migrants will never be able to afford the luxury of thinking beyond their present problems.

I say we, because the migrants are not going to beat the drums for freedom like the blacks did a few years ago. I hope these remarks have helped you to understand why migrants will not, really haven't the opportunity, to speak up for their rights. If changes are to be made, it is up to you and I to make them.

MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE SOUTHWEST

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With the recent interest of the 1960's in the concept of cultural pluralism and its consequences for bilingual education, minority education, and cultural awareness, minorities have made great strides from *North from Mexico*[1] and the *Forgotten People*.[2] Indian peoples are now allowed to be non-white; Negroes are proudly black; Puerto Ricans assert their cultural and political nationalism; "Spanish" and Spanish-speaking people are now Mexican-Americans and even Chicanos. Indeed, the very maturation process has carried us far--far from the guilt of having been, in the case of the latter, from Octavio Paz's *los hijos de la chingada--mestizo*. Note that the concern is over the unassimilated, those who were the objects of systematic incorporation into what has arbitrarily been called the "American way of life," those who inadvertently violated the cannons of white America.

Our concern here is with migrant workers, which could mean those who follow Cesar Chavez, the illegal Mexican alien, and the impoverished individual from "White Society" who also qualifies as a migrant worker. The point is that Spanish-speaking--Chicano, Mexican-American--do not have a monopoly on migrant work. Nevertheless, without great elaboration, one readily comprehends the almost synonymous use of Mexican, Mexican-American, and Chicano with migrant worker. They are stereotyped with corrosive and defaming effect. Despite the broader inclusion of whites for this paper the emphasis here is on *la raza*, the Mexican-American, the Chicano migrant worker.

For the student of the Chicano experience, the literature of the migrant--*Pocho, Barrio Boy, The Plum Pickers, Chicano,* and others--share certain commonalities: Chicanos or Mexican-Americans or Mexicans and Braceros are migrant workers, all part of the same tradition. Look through the eyes of a recent arrival from Mexico, Hector Sandoval, at that first glimpse of the *barrio bajo*, the migrant worker camp so aptly described by Richard Vazquez.

> The structures lining the streets were primarily living quarters. Ragged children, noses hanging mucus, barefoot in the mud, played in the street or shrieked in the shacks. Groups of men stood around at corners and on the dirt walks, talking. Some wore clothing in shreds, were unshaven and barefoot. Hector noticed a great variety of attire, but poverty was the common

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[1] Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1949).

[2] George I. Sanchez, *Forgotten People*.

> style. He talked with a few persons and discovered that finding work in the fields and orchards was on the minds of all. Everyone, it seemed, was almost starving, and "until more crops are ready" was the universal phrase, the thought that gave all here the determination to remain in the barrio bajo.
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> All the shacks, the tiny stores and businesses lining the streets for blocks in all directions had been erected, Hector saw, on a purely temporary basis, to make do, to improvise until something more substantial could be built, but all the temporary shelters and shops had become a town, a town for people who lived in anticipation of the time when "more crops are ready," and it was a town such as Hector had never heard of.[3]

This could have been any migrant camp, so much a part of the Mexican and Mexican-American experience--then and now.

Villarreal in *Pocho* describes for us in his pioneering work in Chicano literature the Americanization process of a Mexican Revolutionary hero who came and worked as a migrant laborer. His son, Richard, is the *pocho*, caught between the two worlds of his dual heritage. Again, migrant workers and strikes are prominent. The point is that the Chicano experience is the migrant worker experience in the Southwest.

Migrant labor in the Southwest is one of those topics which has to be unsorted layer by layer. It is an economic and cultural and social and political issue. Interrelated with it is the evolution of agribusiness, landholding patterns in the Southwest, attitudes toward minorities, the Bracero program between the United States and Mexico. Finally, there is the labor union movement with all its advances and shortcomings as it has dealt with or failed to deal with agricultural workers. It is a question with moral ramifications in that the exploitation of human beings in the twentieth century is under scrutiny by labor reformers. There is also a patina of nationalism that cannot be disregarded, the welling of ethnic nationalism in particular by Mexican-Americans.

Dating back to the sixteenth century in New Mexico, the seventeenth century in Texas, and the eighteenth century in California, the Spanish and, later, Mexican civil servants, missionaries, and military officers worked Indians and Mestizos in grape vineyards, in olive groves, as sheepherders, and on the large cattle ranches. The unquestioning *de facto* state of involuntary servitude for Indians and Mestizos and other minorities dates back to this era.[4]

The late nineteenth century brought the industrialization of agriculture, the evolution of the plantation economy and all its inherent problems.[5] Already immense ranches throughout the Southwest, from the earlier Spanish and Mexican land grant days, changed to different kinds of production as a transition in land use occurred. The fruit industry in California prospered. The Spreckles family that had made a fortune in sugar in Hawaii began operations in California between 1869 and 1889, in which coolie labor had been the backbone of the plantation system. Sugar beets and similar agricultural products led to later agribusiness.

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[3] Richard Vazquez, *Chicano*, p. 38.

[4] Lloyd Fellows, *Economic Aspects of the Mexican Rural Population in California with Special Emphasis on the Need for Mexican Labor in Agriculture* (reprinted in 1971 by R & E Research Associates, publishers and distributors of Ethnic Studies), p. 12.

The Hardwich Committee, appointed by the House of Representatives in 1911, heard one unconcerned sugar beet grower testify on migrant contract foreign field labor, "I don't know where they come from. They just keep coming, year after year. When the work is finished, I do not know where they go."[6]

All labor was through contract, the *patron* system. A 1917 report of the Department of Labor indicated that the California sugar beet industry had the highest profit per acre and the lowest cost of any in the United States. A plantation economy had been established.[7] The factory system had arrived. It was a situation that paralleled the European enclosure movement with one significant difference, and that was an increased need for intensive labor. It is also significant that a combination of factors prepared the way for the exploitation of the Bracero and later the Mexican-American migrant worker. Two are foremost: the prevailing attitude toward non-white migrant workers, and the latifundia system that demanded its pounds of human flesh.

By the early 1930's, much migrant labor was yet, in areas like South Central Texas, black. But with the coming of the W.P.A., many found farm work considerably less compelling, with the consequence that they were replaced by Mexican labor as the restrictive 1921 immigration legislation prohibited the import of cheap labor from Europe and Asia.[8] South Texas began to use more Mexican labor without questioning whether they were born in Texas or illegally emigrated from Mexico. Many failed to discriminate in the use of "wetbacks." Mexicans were Mexicans. The proximity to Mexico, a country in political turmoil, created the necessary conditions to increase the Mexican influx. California, long accustomed to the migrant, found the Mexican a preferred worker. South Texas, however, more familiar with the local blacks who did not move about, viewed the migrant with suspicion. Yet the economics demanded their use. But were any migrants really needed? Statistics were cited to show the need for special attention by field workers for farm activities such as pulling, topping, and sacking onions; picking, washing, and sacking rhubarb; or topping, thinning, and hoeing lettuce. Machines could not do the work. The necessary concomitant stereotypes were developed for the Mexican as a laborer: "They are cheap." "Mexicans work at tasks repugnant to whites." "Mexicans stand the heat better."[9] Even as early as the mid-1920's, social problems were attributed to the Mexican presence. A high percentage of the charity cases were Mexican. It was necessary to use a high percentage of the hospital budgets for Mexicans. The same complaints were made by the Welfare Departments.[10]

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[5] Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migrating Farm Labor in California* (reprinted by Archon Books, 1969), p. 82.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[7] In California the Japanese were, like Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, exploited by agribusiness.

[8] Paul Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930).

The Bracero Program, which continued down to about a decade ago, is a relatively familiar one. The Bracero Program intensified several problems for the migrant laborer: one was wage exploitation and another was the labor contractor. There were others, but these in particular are legacies of the Bracero Program.[11]

If conditions are so oppressive, why are there migrant workers? Is migrant labor even necessary? The President's Commission on Migratory Labor concluded that: " . . . we do not find that people become migrants primarily because they want or like to be migrants. Nor do we find that any large portion of American agricultural employment necessarily requires migrant workers. The economy of this nation has a great deal of seasonal employment other than that in farming."[12] If given the chance, migrants historically have settled down. However, the circumstances that provide work for migrants create migrancy, and its inherent misery:

> Migrants are children of misfortune. They are the rejects of those sectors of agriculture and other industries undergoing change. We depend on misfortune to build up our force of migratory workers and when the supply is low because there is not enough misfortune at home, we rely on misfortune abroad to replenish the supply.[13]

In many ways the migrants belong to the land as did the serfs in the Middle Ages and as the *Peons* did in Mexico until the Revolution. While technically citizens of the United States, they are not even actually second class citizens. The farmer who anxiously looks forward to their cheap labor just as anxiously anticipates the migrant's departure once the crop is harvested.

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[9] To get an historical overview, dating back to even the 1920's, studies show the preference ranking is as follows: Mexicans, Japanese, Filipinos, Chinese, Negroes, East Indians, and Puerto Ricans. The preferences indicated that more Mexicans were given preference than the other minorities altogether. See Fellows, *Economic Aspects*, p. 19.

[10] Nelson G. Copp, "Wetbacks and Braceros: Mexican Migrant Laborers and American Immigration Policy." Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1963.

[11] Richard H. Hancock, *The Role of the Bracero in the Economic & Cultural Dynamics of Mexico* (Hispanic American Society, Stanford University, 1959).

[12] President's Commission on Migratory Labor, *Migrating Labor in American Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 1.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The life style of the migrant worker makes him susceptible to exploitation by not only the grower, but by the entire society. All along the itinerant's route there are those who are anxious for a share of the migrant's money. Few migrants can exercise their right to vote because of residence requirements. Migrants are frequently excluded from education, health, and other social benefits state by state and county by county; government divests itself of responsibility for migrants. The ostracization is further heightened by society when the migrant is also a Mexican or a Mexican-American.

Mexican-American migrant workers are presently ill treated by growers who were conditioned to deal with Braceros, alien migrants. Often in the country illegally, the Bracero was under constant threat of deportation. Frequently the employer turned him in to border patrol officials just before pay day. And now Mexican-Americans, who look just like another kind of Bracero, are treated accordingly, which produces insecurity and virtual peonage.

The literature of the abuses of migrant workers is immense. Meaningful organization to end some of the abuses has been denied the migrant. Among the representatives of agribusiness are yet those who, in the 1930's and 1940's, opposed unionization because it was "communist inspired," or so they claimed. The National Farm Workers Union was even investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee during the fight between the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation and the migrant farm workers attempting to unionize.[14]

Technology inadvertently adds to the plight of the migrant as it continues to replace and to displace farm hands. A new gadget on a tractor in the Midwest sends hundreds of families west to California. Even in California the growers would keep adding the new gadgets, if it were possible; but it is not so with the kinds of crops they grow. Herein lies one of the unique characteristics of the migrant worker, who experiences a kind of industrialized slavery: the real dilemma arises from farm production and maintenance which cannot be satisfactorily done by machines. Consequently, short-term, intensive labor requirements exist. It is the human factor, the fact that human beings must perform those tasks, that demands social and economic considerations. That is the dilemma.

Some of the abuses are the result of attitude. The classic statement of the past decade is attributed to former Governor Ronald Reagan. The essence was that Mexicans should be permitted to continue to migrate to California. They did so well at stoop labor because "they are built close to the ground."

In the *Grapes of Wrath*, which publication, incidentally, was vehemently opposed by the growers, we learned about the migrant trail--

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[14] Ernesto Galarza, *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1970), *et passim*.

Route 66. Highway 85, from Albuquerque north through Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, has not had its Steinbeck to dramatize it. There sugar beets, *el betabel*, and potatoes are gathered in. Along Route 85 to the east and west migrant colonies of Mexican-American workers mushroom overnight and disappear as quickly. They are defined as "people from nowhere going nowhere"; they are permitted by each community to stay a while to tend the crops but then they must move on, and if they are tardy in their departure, there is always the sheriff to prompt them. To quote one student on the subject: "Here, indeed, were the stragglers of routed armies. . . ."[15]

The list of abuses society complacently disregards includes sub-human housing, public health problems of every imaginable kind, economic exploitation. By every measure it is the children that suffer the most--an existence punctuated with misery.

"Delano" has special meaning.[16] It signals *la causa*, a determined cry against the marketing of lettuce and grapes, heard from coast to coast throughout the supermarkets of the land. *La causa* is a social movement, perhaps the most unique facet of our discussion of migrant workers in the Southwest.

Mexican-American migrant workers in the Southwest participate in varying degrees in what is collectively affirmed as *la causa*, the cause. What is this cause or *la causa*? And what are the implications of *la causa* for migrant workers?

In large part, the uniqueness here stems from the fact that we are analyzing a stratum of Mexican-American sub-culture which is, in itself, a minority society within American mainstream society. *La causa* applies primarily to the humble, to the dispossessed, and to the poor, uniquely to Mexican-American migrant workers. It is the migrants whose frustrated, barren, and insecure lives compel them to give their allegiance to and participate in a mass movement such as *la causa*. The insecurity derived from having failed to compete for their share of the American cornucopia compels many migrant workers to join *la causa*.

The sequence of incidents or events that lead to the migrant worker's alienation and eventual disaffection and defection from mainstream society begins with reservations--reservations about how well mainstream society is meeting his particular needs. The Mexican-American migrant worker wonders about the obvious defects in the economic system that allows agribusiness to exploit him, about the cultural oppression experienced as a minority member under the Americanization program of mainstream society, about the police brutality[17] against pickets on strike in the undeclared war between migrant workers and the agribusiness establishment. The expectations produced by middle class America, the TV world of Ozzie and Harriet each evening, are finally recognized as unobtainable. Repeated failure to secure a decent livelihood, economic security, economic benefits commensurate with the labor expended, and other catalysts lead to the eventual defection. The accumulated reservations produce a disaffection, a kind of alienation, that results in an almost fanatic, zealous participation in *la causa*. This disaffection occurs often unnoticed, even by the disaffected. Many join *la causa* as their only salvation and to become divested of an unwanted self.[18]

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[15] Carey McWilliams, *Ill Fares the Land* (Barnes & Noble, 1967, reprint).

[16] John Gregory Dunne, *Delano* (New York: Farrar, Strous, & Geroux, 1967).

[17] Eugene Nelson, *Huelga* (Delano: Farm Workers Press, 1966).

Consequently, for the alienated Mexican-American migrant worker, *la causa* surfaces as a kind of general solution; it elicits a kind of blind faith and dedicated allegiance. The frustrated migrant worker is drawn into this social movement to become what Eric Hoffer calls a "true believer." Moreover, *la causa* is reminiscent of revivalism. It is significant that such mass movements, which have in recent decades replaced religious revivals and third party movements as vehicles of change, share with *la causa* the exhilaration caused by the expectation of change. History is saturated with numerous examples of reforming social movements[19] of comparable nationalist and revivalist nature--the Bolsheviks in the USSR, the French Revolution, or Zionism, for example. It is "religiofication--the art of turning practical purposes into holy causes,"[20] that is the common denominator of *la causa* and these movements. A Franco or the American military in Indochina might fail to generate that kind of religious fervor. Without it there can be no sense of fulfillment nor sense of power. In *la causa*, the leadership has shown acumen; it preaches and offers hope. For these migrant workers, it becomes the future that sustains.

Given the conditions described earlier, *la causa*, the Mexican-American migrant worker response, with proper leadership becomes almost inevitable. "Once the stage is set, the presence of an outstanding leader is indispensable. Without him there will be no movement."[21] Cesar Chavez has been, more than any other single factor, this unifying agent of *la causa*. And, of course, the ultimate catalyst is action itself.

The assimilation of the individual into such a mass movement produces a new identity and, in essence, a new life. Total assimilation[22] into the new collective body ends the frustration of the true believer. *La causa* answers the migrant worker's search for an identity and assists in establishing a relationship with the outer world. In that sense, *la causa* is a very personal social movement. In this quest for individual identity, logically the experience of each individual will be unique, and therefore even the perception of each individual of *la causa* will vary accordingly with each frame of reference. *La causa* offers safety, protection, and structure (in particular, the latter is needed) against an outside cold and hostile world. It offers social support and security against abandonment. It gives the migrant worker a cushion against the contempt of "the enemy."

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[18] Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), p. 12.

[19] See also Hans Toch, *The Psychology of Social Movements*.

[20] Hoffer, *True Believer*, p. 6.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

The migrant worker in the Southwest is caught in a metamorphosis of transculturation somewhere between *viva* Zapata, Villa, and Juarez and the *Nosotros Venceremos* (meaning, We Shall Overcome) of the California Great Valley. Ethnically and culturally, he is very much a part of the borderlands buffer zone that itself serves as a base of operation from which he ventures along the several northern seasonal arterial routes. He shares with all other migrant workers the problems of extremely limited health care, little union protection with exploitation as a result, poor schooling prospects for his children which in turn means the perpetuation of migrancy, poor housing, *ad infinitum*. Overall, migrant workers exist in a *de facto* state of serfdom. Consider the irony of our celebration of the anniversary of the 200th year of independence when there are among us those who have not yet achieved real independence. The total problem is yet part of the labor-management conflict that began in the nineteenth century and intensified after the 1940's.

In conclusion, social movements have different gestation periods. The story of the migrant in the Southwest is one that antedates John Steinbeck and the *Grapes of Wrath*, which is, in itself, an old story. The Catholic, non-white, non-English speaking people of the Southwest are the migrant workers and are a people within the very migrant class itself. They share a common basis for joining their unique social movement, *la causa*, a movement whose growing force seems inexorable.

THE CHICAGO QUALITY OF LIFE CENTER:
A CONCEPT FOR BETTER LIVING

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A small girl sits on the front steps of her apartment building waiting for her father to come home. If she were her mother upstairs--preparing a meager meal for her family--she would be wondering if her father had found work today. But because she is young and filled with dreams as children are, she is imagining herself in all kinds of wonderful situations--situations that she has heard about or seen on a neighbor's television set on occasion. She is imagining herself with a family of her own, with good food, good learning, nice friends, and plenty of time for parties and meaningful work to do.

There is only one problem with this dream: all the people who could help her to realize it fail to do so. Instead, they are waiting for something to go wrong. If she gets sick enough, or poor enough, or maybe bad enough, then someone will care and intervene.

Historically, the human services fields have focused on remedy and intervention to try to address those conditions which cause many to merely exist on the outer fringe of society. Then, in the early 1960's, the concept of prevention emerged. It was hoped that prevention would greatly reduce the need for intervention, for the remedial approach. Yet today, in spite of some dramatic successes in the area of prevention, workers in the human services field, both private and in government, too often find themselves responding to the crisis of the moment. For while we plan well and far in advance for development of physical resources, we do not seem to do so well when it comes to planning for development of human resources, the people in our society. This, despite the fact that a society is only as strong as all its members, can individually contribute to their fullest capabilities. Society is poorer because of the loss of each potential contribution. John Stuart Mill, the great philosopher and political economist, put it this way: "Individuality is the same thing with development and it is only the cultivation of individuality which produces, or can produce, well developed human beings. The worth of a state, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it." Mill meant all of the individuals composing it.

Thus, if the strength of a society depends upon the contributions and worth of its individual members, so the contributions that these members are able to make depends upon the extent to which they perceive a sense of personal satisfaction and happiness--their quality of life.

In Chicago, we believe these prerequisites depend upon the level of health and fulfillment individuals enjoy in at least six facets of life:

the physical, the emotional, the social, the intellectual, the economical, and the ethical-spiritual.

We are all familiar with the ways in which the poor quality of life expresses itself: it expresses itself in poverty through all the individuals and families who eke out an existence on the barest of essentials; it expresses itself in unemployment and underemployment wherein a depressing and hopeless waste of human potential takes place in all strata of our society, or in the lack of job satisfaction by countless numbers of the employed; it expresses itself in high infant mortality, morbidity, and lives of dependency by many newborns who do survive; it expresses itself in juvenile delinquency with tens of thousands of youths under seventeen arrested and adjudicated each year; it expresses itself in crime and drug addiction, in mental illness, alcoholism, runaways, and all of the other unhealthy conditions that are plentiful where people are unfulfilled.

While these conditions of poor life quality permeate our society, we know they abound in communities with heavy concentrations of minority residents. The reasons have been well documented, thus we do not need to address them. The point that needs to be made is that various, often sincere attempts have been made through the years to address these conditions where they exist and, in particular, for persons we have designated as minorities. But concurrently a two-fold problem has persisted. First, unhealthy, unfulfilled individuals and groups have too often been viewed by policy makers and human services practitioners alike as problems themselves, rather than the great untapped human resources they should represent. Second, practitioners have been prone to treat symptoms rather than seek to remove causes of these conditions. Unless and until we begin to redirect our thinking about human needs and refocus our actions in delivering services to meet these needs, a life of good quality is not likely to be realized by many of our citizens from birth to senescence and death, and our society will suffer from this loss of human potential.

In too many minority communities the majority of individuals and often entire families are unhealthy and unfulfilled in most or all of the facets of a qualitative life. Thus, it should not be surprising that many are nonproductive, contributing little or nothing to the common well-being. In some cases, as we all know and have observed, they are even unable to cope with the life experience on the individual level.

If our society is to be as strong as it can be, every individual within it must be given an equal chance to develop and make contributions to the fullest potential. However, to adequately fulfill the many roles the individual must fill at any given time, he or she must feel reasonably satisfied with the conditions of his or her life, or at least believe that progress is being made toward fulfillment. One of the greatest challenges facing cities today is that of engineering ways to make this promise a reality. The City of Chicago has accepted this challenge. In October, 1974, Chicago established and funded a Quality of Life Center as evidence of its commitment to develop a comprehensive human services plan which incorporates all the factors essential to a high quality of life for all residents. The Chicago Quality of Life Center is not a center in the usual sense of physical structure. Rather, it is a process and an administrative mechanism designed to take an honest look at the life experience of individuals in the city with the purpose of improving it. This will be done for them and with their help. The intent is to develop a set of quality of life goals and to implement a planning, research, and evaluation process intimately linked to the city's physical planning process for greatest impact. In the course of these activities, the hope is to rationalize the human services delivery system to more effectively meet human needs on all levels and to learn ways to prevent the continuing loss of human potential and the resultant cost of this waste to the city.

Chicago, like other major cities across the nation, has not in the past had an integrated, comprehensive planning process or a set of agreed upon goals for meeting human needs. Chicago, like other cities, has responded to needs, problems, and issues on the human level by creating a multiplicity of new agencies to meet each situation as identified. Thus, while intentions have been positively directed, the result has been a disjointed system defying measurement of impact and identification, of continuing gaps in human development and fulfillment. Formation of these goals is obviously one of the first steps in the Center's developmental stages. Many or most of these goals will be different from those addressed only a decade ago. The problems of the 1960's are not the problems of the 1970's, and we must not be caught short trying to do today's tasks with yesterday's tools. Rather, planners must be anticipating the problems cities will face in the 1980's.

Chicago must redirect its efforts in order to use the best tools available to achieve coordination of the human services efforts in such a way that practitioners perceive total individuals with needs in many areas, with the capability of becoming independently responsible for their own fulfillment. Support will be necessary in three areas: research, education, and training. Research will be carried on to help focus on preventive programs in the area of education, and training packages will grow out of this research. Calling on the best minds and most modern theories, planners will define specific research projects to be undertaken. New avenues will be explored in order to determine how one can best attain a good quality of life. There is a serious need today for research into human services that is generated outside of the academic setting where, in the past, there has been a tendency to use rhetoric and grand theoretic proclamations. Because so many practitioners from the human services fields are well equipped academically as well as in practical experience to design and carry out research, this alternative must be included in any research plan. The findings of such research will be more inclined to identify actions that can be taken.

The Quality of Life Center studies will be carried out through a number of approaches by Quality of Life Fellows working under grants for original research, or for supplementary studies to research in progress, by cooperative studies between city researchers, universities, and organizations. The education and training packages growing out of the research findings will be one of three models: those that workers in the human services field can use to help improve their effectiveness, those that the practitioner can use to help his client become more independently responsible for his own health and fulfillment, and those that the individual can use to further his self-development. These models will be shared locally and nationally with individuals, with persons active in the social and human services fields, and with practitioners, organizations, and institutions.

How successful this approach will be in improving the effectiveness of practitioners and agencies depends upon gaining the participation of the best minds available today working together in a comprehensive, interdisciplinary approach to the quality of life. Efforts will focus on people from every walk of life; however, a greater concern must be shown for the fulfillment of those whose needs are greatest. Many minorities fall into this group. If students in minority studies would focus on the best efforts on a full, complete quality of life for all, both in their studies and in their communities, the impact on the problems we are addressing would be enormous.

In the developmental phase, emphasis will be on research and on the collection and organization of data. Because the future of Chicago and of our country will be in the hands of the youth of today, a part of this emphasis will be on childhood and on adolescence. To this end, collaboration occurred with the Model Cities/CCUO Youth Development staff in conducting a Youth Values Conference in December, 1974, with 250 Chicago area young men and women, a representative, interracial cross-section of the city's young chosen for their leadership potential.

The weekend Conference on Values took place at the Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, campus of George Williams College. The goal was to learn from and to help Model Cities Youth Department establish a relationship with these leadership youths because the great potential for problem solving on the most basic level exists in these youngsters, given the proper guidance and motivations.

The Conference was a success, both as judged by the impartial process observers asked to observe and critique these efforts, and by the youth participants themselves in a final session in which they were invited to do the same. At this session, leaders elected by each of the ten groups, into which the Conference had been divided, expressed the desire of all the groups for further involvement with values exploration and the quality of life concept. A representative Steering Committee was formed to help plan these future activities with the guidance of Model Cities Youth Department. Their Work Program concentrates on two phases of development: self-development in the six facets mentioned to help each participant become independently responsible for his or her own health and fulfillment, and leadership development to make each participant capable of sharing what he or she has learned in order to contribute in a real and satisfying way to the family, to peers, and to the community at large.

Plans are also underway for a series of consultations. These consultations will bring together some of the best minds from each of the previously mentioned six areas, plus a seventh, which will be interdisciplinary. The purpose of these consultations will be to discuss current knowledge and gaps in this knowledge, to suggest new directions for research, and to reach a consensus on critical issues for achieving a good quality of life. The results of these consultations should also have direct and immediate applications for those practitioners responsible for the health and fulfillment of the communities and individuals with the greatest needs.

If the Chicago Quality of Life Center succeeds in creating a model that other municipal governments can follow in establishing their own efforts, it will have gone a long way toward fulfilling the expectations of those involved.

Chicago is indeed fortunate to have among its leadership the kind of forward thinking it takes to develop such a Center, to implement a plan focusing on the quality of its citizens. The intent is to make it a peoples centered plan with a concern for individuals and their problems. More than ever before, the eyes of the world are turned toward America to see how we will handle this great trust.

President John F. Kennedy, in a speech to the Massachusetts State Legislature in 1961, likened this position of trust to being high on a hill for everyone to see when he said: "Today, the eyes of all people are truly upon us; and our governments, in every branch, at every level, national, state and local, must be as a city upon a hill, constructed and inhabited by men aware of their grave trust and their great responsibilities."

We in Chicago are determined to fulfill this responsibility and to make our cities, agencies, and helping programs models on which other cities across the nation will fashion their own quality of life programs. Students of the minorities should appreciate the excellent potential in problem solving that such an investment in the futures of our citizens and our communities represents.

BAROMETERS OF BLACK ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT - THE REALITY AND THE MYTH

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Most Americans realize that economics dictates the quality of life and the services received by citizens, not only of Chicago, but across the nation. The name of the game here in America is M-O-N-E-Y, pure and simple. It is not necessary to rehash the abysmal statistics that point to the inequality of blacks in other areas of American life. The reality is that it is economics that dictates the volume of anguish and pleading by the sufferers. And it is economics that will govern the response by the providers of service to these outcrys. It is no more than nice to chant: "free at last, free at last"; a person must have an economic foundation for freedom to be effective rather than merely rhetorical.

The Chicago Urban League study of black economic conditions in Chicago is indicative of what the League is all about. We are essentially a race relations agency whose major focus has been on improving the status and condition of all minorities, but especially blacks in the Chicago metropolitan area.

We view such efforts as this study as prerequisites to programs which really begin to deal with improving the relations between the races. Our methodology is threefold: research, community organization, and direct services. As an example of direct services, since its inception in 1916, the work of the Chicago Urban League has been nearly synonymous with employment.

Let us pause for a moment to discuss the period in our nation's history that made us believe, for a moment, that fifty years of service would end the need for our existence. The reference here is to the period between 1960 and 1970. This decade, with respect to the economic condition of blacks, was especially important and unique. It was the major decade of the civil rights movement, and it will surely be its zenith unless something truly cataclysmic happens to once again focus the attention of this country and its resources on the problems of minorities.

You may recall that the 1960's saw a host of federal, state, and local legislative and programmatic efforts directed at doing something about the basic inequalities between blacks and whites. The litany of such efforts, which included new efforts or were directed primarily at the economic problems, includes the Office of Economic Opportunity, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Fair Employment Practices Commission, Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Small Business Administration, Office of Minority Business Enterprise, Job Corps, Manpower Development & Training Act (and now Comprehensive Employment and Training Act), the U.S.

Civil Rights Commission, Health, Education & Welfare's Office of Civil Rights, Affirmative Action, and National Association of Businessmen programs in the private sector, just to name a few. Each of these developments, wholly or in large part, concentrated over the ten-year period billions of dollars on substantially reducing the disparity between the economic opportunities and levels of blacks and their white counterparts.

This study, which we entitled *Barometers of Black Economic Achievement: The Reality and the Myth*, attempts to measure, perhaps rather crudely, what happened to blacks in Chicago as a result of the aforestated rational efforts in terms of employment, unemployment, income, occupational status, and their representation in twelve major industries over that ten-year period. The data used was derived exclusively from 1960 and 1970 census information.

What we found, basically, were two things. The first was that in each of these areas (employment, income, occupation, and industry), blacks made substantial gains:

1. The unemployment rate for blacks in Chicago went down from 11.6 in 1960 to 7.0 in 1970.
2. Median black family income went up from $4,786 in 1960 to $7,780 in 1970.
3. In 1960 only 22 percent of black workers in Chicago held white collar jobs, while 37 percent of black workers held white collar jobs in 1970.
4. The percentage of blacks in 12 major industrial groups increased and, in several instances, doubled and tripled.

Now these are the realities. We are pleased about them, and it is most likely that these gains would not have been made without the concerted efforts and billions of dollars expended.

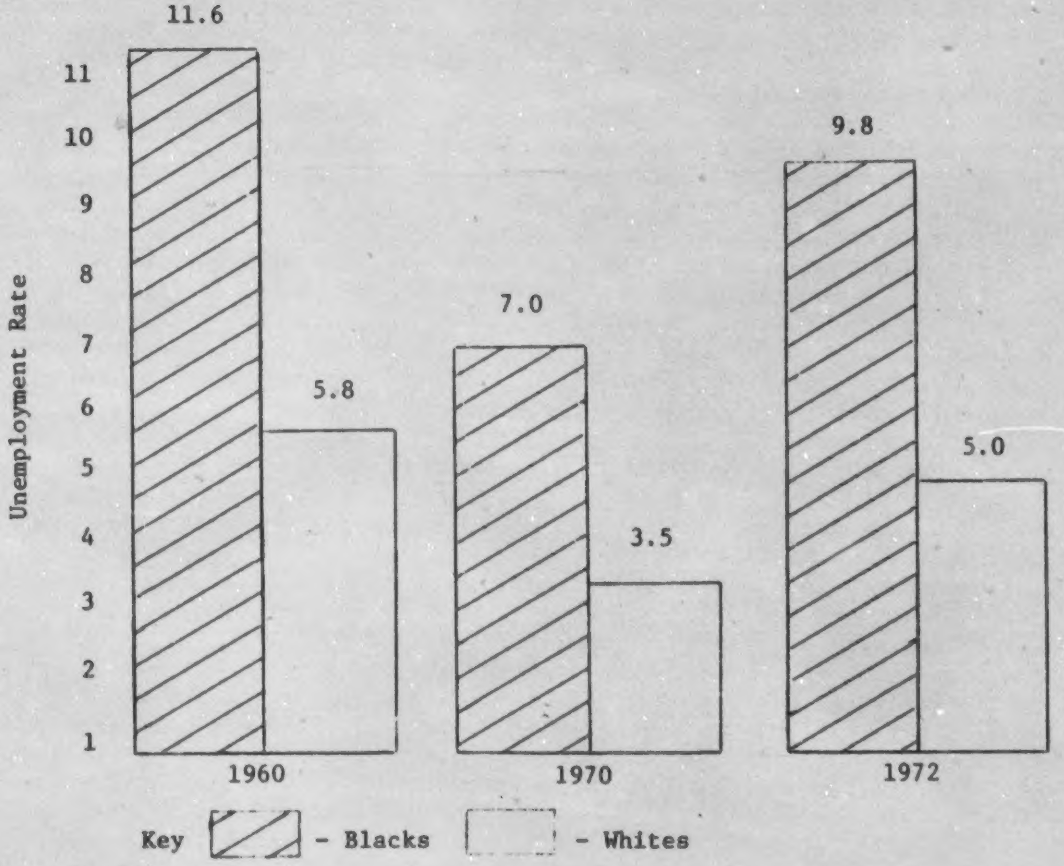
The other major finding of this study resulted from comparing these important and, in some cases, dramatic gains with what happened with the majority population. In this light, the gains cited above begin to pale. Further analysis strongly suggests, in fact, that what we thought were gains were, comparatively speaking, not gains at all. The relative position of blacks in Chicago either remained essentially the same or deteriorated.

It is much like two elevators operating in the same shaft. Blacks in Chicago got on one elevator in the basement, while whites got on the other elevator on the third floor in 1960. When the elevators stopped in 1970, blacks were not just simply still on the bottom, but they were almost inexplicably further behind than the distance which separated the basement from the third floor in 1960.

As an example of the lack of change in the relative position (still basement level compared to the third floor), take the unemployment rate (see Figure 1). Blacks in Chicago started out the decade with an unemployment rate exactly twice that of whites (5.8 for whites, 11.6 for

Figure 1

CHICAGO UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR SELECTED YEARS BY RACE



blacks) and ended up in 1970 with the same amount of disparity (3.5 for whites, 7.0 for blacks). In 1972, the unemployment rate for blacks was 9.8, but only 5.0 for whites. In 1973, it was 8.7 for blacks and 3.3 for whites in Chicago; in 1974, it will probably average out to be 10.0 for blacks, 5.0 for whites. The point is that the black unemployment rate is nearly always twice as high as white unemployment. In Chicago, blacks represent 26 percent of the labor force but contribute 40 percent of the unemployed.

The most powerful example of black economic deterioration is the index of median family income (see Figure 2). The gap increased. The amount of $2,994 separated black and white median family incomes in Chicago in 1960, but $3,276 separated them by 1970. While it is significant that median black family incomes rose from $4,786 in 1960 to $7,883 in 1970, it would not have moved perhaps that much without the intense efforts of the 1960's. At the same time, however, the war on poverty helped whites even more because they went from a median family income of $7,780 in 1960 to $11,159 in 1970.

The few examples of closure of the disparity between blacks and whites in Chicago were found in occupational status and representation in industry (see Table 1). In the case of increased black representation in industry, there were some mixed results. Black workers in the combined industries of finance, insurance, and real estate increased from 7 percent in 1960 to 16 percent in 1970--a percentage increase of 161 percent. And, as you can see, similar increases were made in every one of the industries or combinations of industries. Some of these industries are not significant employers in Chicago--the mining industry employed only 998 persons in 1970; agriculture, forestry, and fisheries only employed 3,659 Chicagoans in 1970. Even so, a significantly larger proportion of blacks held jobs in these industries in 1970 than in 1960.

Yet the fact remains that the earnings gap increased by 44 percent (see Table 2). That is, in 1960, the blacks who held jobs in the finance, insurance, and real estate industries had median earnings which were $2,113 less than the median earnings for whites. Moreover, in 1970, the blacks who held jobs in those industries earned $3,039 less than whites. The same thing is shown for the construction industry where the earnings gap increased from $2,185 to $3,413; manufacturing from a gap of $1,416 to $2,135; and, for the employer of last resort, public administration, the gap increased from $685 to $1,340. These data probably reflect the fact that most of the increased proportion of blacks in these industries were employed at entry level positions. Still, when one thinks of a healthy percentage growth rate of 150 to 161 percent, there should be the realization that it does not buy the groceries that equality of earnings will buy.

The increase in the occupational index is the area where blacks made some real gains (see Table 3). The proportion of white collar workers increased more for blacks than for whites. The proportion of blacks who were white collar workers increased from 22 percent in 1960 to 36.5 percent in 1970, making the gap decrease from 24.3 down to 15.5. In every one of the white collar occupations this was true. Although the proportion of blacks who were blue collar workers increased a little, probably all of it can be accounted for by the increase in the gap for operatives

Figure 2

MEDIAN BLACK AND WHITE FAMILY
INCOMES AND GAPS FOR CHICAGO, 1960 AND 1970

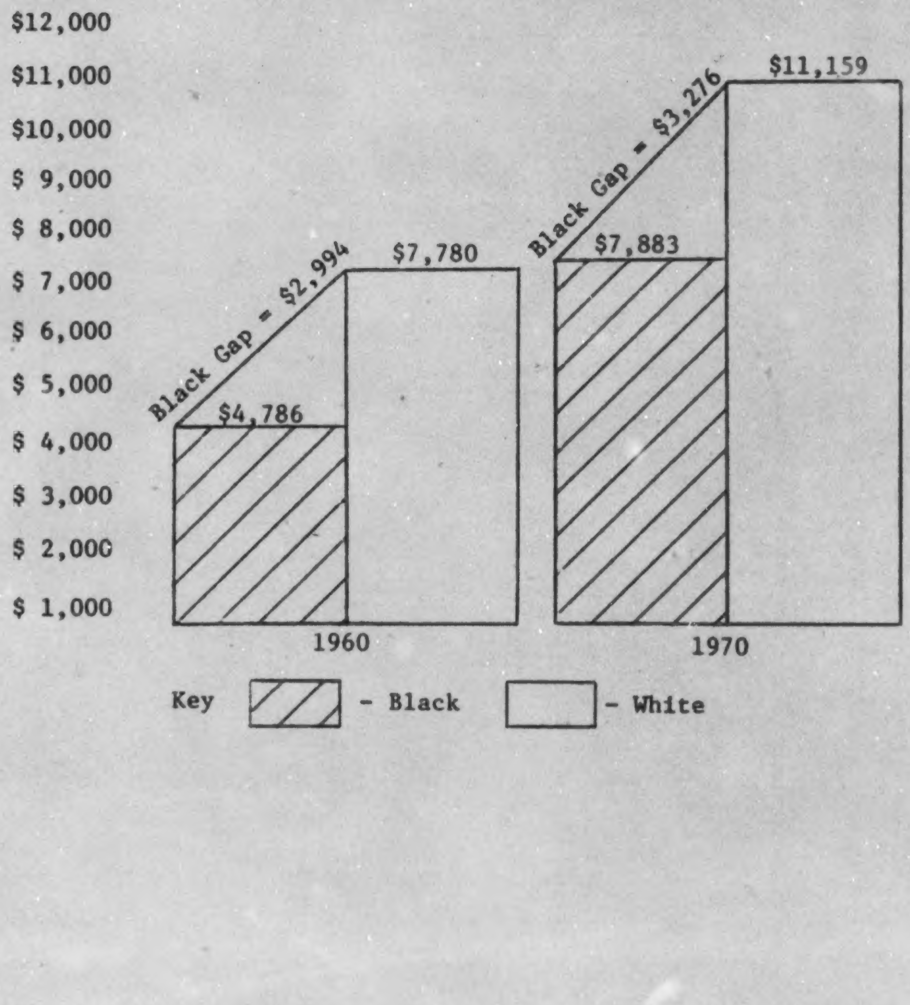


Table 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS AND TOTAL EMPLOYED IN CHICAGO BY INDUSTRY, 1960 AND 1970

Industry	Total Number 1960	Total Number 1970	Number Blacks 1960	Number Blacks 1970	Percent Blacks 1960	Percent Blacks 1970
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	78,724	88,147	5,372	14,038	6.8	15.9
Transportation, Communication, Utilities and Sanitation	129,989	112,964*	19,609	32,451	15.1	28.7
Wholesale and Retail Trade	268,739	277,296	39,715	62,674	14.8	22.6
Construction	57,025	51,348*	8,035	10,787	14.1	21.0
Mining	556	998	68	217	12.2	21.7
Manufacturing	503,753	443,829*	76,531	107,748	15.2	24.3
Business and Repair Services	44,399	56,691	6,062	12,832	13.2	22.6
Professional and Related Services	139,678	208,874	25,347	59,813	18.1	23.9
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	2,468	3,659	424	1,505	17.2	41.1
Personal and Household Services	71,455	58,796*	30,703	26,803	42.9	45.6
Entertainment and Recreation	9,952	8,598*	1,658	1,724	16.7	20.1
Public Administration	67,706	76,708	21,824	33,196	32.2	43.3
Not Reported	127,287	-	47,159	-	-	-
TOTALS	1,501,731	1,387,908	282,507	363,788		

* Industries in which employment of Chicagoans decreased.

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

Table 2

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF ALL MALES BY RACE FOR SELECTED INDUSTRIES CHICAGO SMSA, 1960 AND 1970

	Construction	Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	Manufacturing	Public Administration
1960				
Median Earnings All Males	$ 6,332	$6,204	$5,777	$5,535
Median Earnings Non-White Males	$ 4,147	$4,091	$4,361	$4,850
Non-White Male Median Earnings Gap	$ 2,185	$2,113	$1,416	$ 685
1970				
Median Earnings All Males	$10,883	$9,839	$9,079	$9,511
Median Earnings Black Males	$ 7,470	$6,800	$6,944	$8,171
Black Male Median Earnings Gap	$ 3,413	$3,039	$2,135	$1,340

Source: *Detailed Characteristics*, Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

Table 3

1960 AND 1970 PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED WHITES AND BLACKS
BY OCCUPATIONS FOR CHICAGO

	1960			1970		
Occupation	White	Black	Difference	White	Black	Difference
White Collar	46.3	22.0	24.3	52.0	36.5	15.5
Professional	10.1	5.0	5.1	14.1	8.4	5.7
Managerial	7.0	1.8	5.2	6.1	2.6	3.5
Sales	10.5	2.0	8.5	6.8	3.3	3.5
Clerical	18.7	13.2	5.5	25.0	22.2	2.8
Blue Collar	46.1	59.8	13.7	48.0	63.5	15.5
Craftsmen	14.5	6.7	7.8	13.8	9.8	4.0
Operatives	19.7	24.9	5.2	19.3	27.2	7.9
Service	7.8	15.2	7.4	10.3	16.8	6.5
Laborers	3.7	9.0	5.3	4.3	7.5	3.2
Household	.6	4.0	3.4	.3	2.2	1.9
Not Reported	7.6	18.2	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

which, instead of decreasing, went up from 5.2 to 7.9. But more importantly, the occupational index increases were accompanied by significant reductions in the earnings gap (see Table 4).

For professionals and managers, the earnings gap decreased from $2,846 in 1960 to $1,428 in 1970. The gap for craftsmen was reduced minimally from $1,672 to $1,394. For clerical workers (female clerical workers), the gap was not astronomical; it, too, showed closure from $386 to $146. For operatives, the gap was reduced from $906 in 1960 to $426 in 1970.

These are some of the highlights of the study which was written before inflation and unemployment had reached the levels we are now experiencing. Consequently, if the ten-year period, when most Americans were aware of and took on the challenge of racial inequality, has not meant a great deal of significant improvement, then, given the current economic climate, even the few real improvements are likely to evaporate into thin air.

In the light of the past ten-year experience and the current rising unemployment, Chicago's businessmen and industrialists must adopt and implement policies which rigorously safeguard the tenuous hold of their black employees. Without such conscious and successful efforts, the number of unemployed blacks will increase drastically and could very easily approximate the level of unemployment blacks experienced during the Great Depression of the 1930's. In 1940, the total unemployment rate for the country was 14.6. Nationally for blacks in March, 1975, it was 14.2, while for blacks in Chicago it was about 13.5.

No attempt was made in this study to engage in the kind of liberal rhetoric which ignored or played down black progress. Since the economic condition of blacks cannot be viewed in isolation, it was imperative to compare blacks and whites. These racial comparisons not only showed that large disparities still exist between black and white Chicagoans, but also that, in several instances, the discrepancies are getting wider.

The only possible conclusion one can draw is that the quality of life for blacks in Chicago has not changed appreciably for the better. Rather, the data in this study strongly suggest that all of the effort and money expended on improving the economic situation of blacks in Chicago during the decade of the 1960's very nearly failed to help blacks keep pace with natural increases.

This is a sad commentary on what should have been a renaissance period for blacks in Chicago and certainly everywhere else in this country. Yet when we add to these realities the further setbacks accompanying inflation, recession, and the general decline of the economy, the resulting picture is dismal. What is needed is full employment to make future progress meaningful or even possible. Without it, the changes toward more and better employment and higher incomes for blacks will never reach the scope nor depth necessary to eliminate the economic disparities separating black and white Americans.

It is worth re-emphasizing that, despite the failure of the 1960's to close the gap and to keep blacks from losing ground, the results would

Table 4

BLACK AND TOTAL MEDIAN ANNUAL EARNINGS OF MALES FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND BLACK EARNINGS GAPS IN CHICAGO, 1960 AND 1970

Classifications	Median Black Male Earnings		Median Earnings of All Males		1960 Black Earnings Gap	1970 Black Earnings Gap
	1960	1970	1960	1970		
Professional, Managerial, and Kindred	$5,030	$8,687	$7,876	$10,115	$2,846	$1,428
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers	$4,614	$7,515	$6,286	$ 8,909	$1,672	$1,394
Clerical and Kindred Workers*	$3,037	$4,911	$3,423	$ 5,057	$ 386	$ 146
Operatives including Transport	$4,253	$6,841	$5,159	$ 7,267	$ 906	$ 426

* Females only.

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Illinois, 1960 and 1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

have been catastrophic without the effort, concern, and financial resources expended on their behalf. Nonetheless, at this time we face unmitigated disaster for the black community, economically. One can only view with grave misgivings what the situation will be five years from now, in 1980, when a similar analysis is conducted for the decade of the 1970's. There is no question that the national mood has changed from benign neglect to malignant disregard.

A truly equitable society where every man and every woman has a full opportunity to live life with dignity requires a job. One cannot have dignity without a job. Further, there can never be equality among races and ethnic groups without equality of opportunity, a worthy effort in which the Chicago Urban League shares.

IMPROVING MEDICAL CARE FOR AND BY MINORITY GROUPS: A CASE STUDY OF NATIONAL MEDICAL FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

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The Issue

There is general concensus that there are serious problems in the delivery system of medical care and that these problems are particularly aggravated for minority groups and the poor. However, there is little agreement on the basis of the problem and, thus, what would be appropriate actions to deal with them. This situation provides a challenge for sociologists to test their ideas about social organizations and what they have to offer to deal with these problems. White has pointed out:

> Two decades of social experimentation promise a more rational basis, derived from the social sciences, for deploying, financing and managing health care systems more effectively. So far, however, we have not been outstandingly successful in applying this new knowledge and experience to the problem of organizing health care in the United States. Inequities and inadequacies in the provision of health care are increasingly apparent and the burden of health care continues to grow. (White, 1973)

Some writers see the issue as one of inadequate organization of health services and propose the organization of educational services or of fire fighting as models to follow (Roemer, 1971). Some deny the existence of a basic problem and point to the 50 percent increase in physicians between 1950-1970 and to the fact that the United States as a whole has one of the highest ratios of physicians to populations (Schwartz, 1971). Articles in the *Journal of the National Medical Association* stress the problems of blacks and the urban poor in obtaining adequate health services. Dr. Sheppard observed that, in the health care field, federally funded programs have been underutilized and that neighborhood health centers have not fully met their responsibilities (Sheppard, 1974). Others deal with the issue of why it is so difficult for the poor to become actively involved in health delivery systems to their own communities and point to the priorities of situational factors (Gyles and Gyles, 1974). In the summer of 1974, both the outgoing and incoming presidents of the National Medical Association (NMA) addressed themselves to the problem of health care for minority groups (Rann, Cave, 1974).

In general there is disagreement as to the importance of the number of physicians in dealing with the problem. Rayek states that: "It is self-evident that the key variable in the provision of medical services to the American people is the number of physicians" (Rayek, 1967). The Committee on the Goals and Priorities of the National Board of Medical Examiners, on the other hand, feels that the assumptions that we do not have enough physicians can be challenged "in view of the remarkable increase in the number of first places available in the nation's medical schools since the mid 1960's" (1973).

Dewey points out that the maldistribution of physicians, rather than actual shortages, is the major problem. The total number of physicians rose 50 percent from 1950-1970 while the physician population ratio increased from 145 doctors to 164 doctors per thousand population. However, only 60 percent of doctors in the United States are in private practice, and a higher proportion of physicians are going into research, teaching, and administration than did twenty years ago. Consequently, " . . . the actual number of doctors available to care for the sick decreased during the period of phenomenal growth in the number of physicians" (Dewey, 1973).

This paper will address itself to the issue of institutional change in the health delivery system by analyzing the activities and results of one organization, National Medical Fellowships, Inc. (henceforth, NMF), which has dealt with various aspects of it for over twenty-five years.

Historical Development of NMF

NMF was originally organized in 1946 as Provident Medical Associates (PMA) under the leadership of Dr. McLean, at that time Director of Clinics at the University of Chicago. PMA started with an all-white Board of nine physicians who used their positions and influence to improve health care for and by blacks. Currently, NMF has a Board of twenty-two black and white members, representing physicians as well as other specialties, and twelve paid staff members with offices in Chicago and New York. The original goal was later changed in favor of supporting, through grants, medical students of the four minority groups--blacks, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans.

NMF's activities span an era which saw important developments in race relations generally, in the position of minority group physicians and medical students, and medicine particularly. The changing racial and ethnic situation and the response of NMF to this change may be summarized in the following four phases:

Phase I: Provident Medical Associates, 1946-1952

In 1946, PMA was confronted with a situation of all-pervasive discrimination on every level of medical training of physicians in the appointment to hospitals of black physicians, and in discrimination against patients. In 1946, there were only ninety-three certified specialists who were black. The shortage of Board certified black specialists in turn provided a good excuse for hospitals to withhold appointments of black physicians. The ratio of black physicians to population was 1:3,500 compared to 1:720 for whites. At that time, it was estimated that to maintain a minimum standard of medical service, there should be one physician for ever 1,500 people (Reitzes, 1958). While many white physicians did treat black patients, there were reports that they were discriminated against in a variety of ways, such as using a special entrance or coming at special hours.

This situation provided a rationale for PMA. The purpose of the newly formed organization, as stated in its article of incorporation, was "the improvement of medical practice through the advancement of education and research." This was further elaborated in the 1950's and developed into the following statement which basically represents the philosophy of NMF:

> Without implying or suggesting that Negroes are or should be taken care of exclusively by Negro physicians, it can be stated that, generally speaking, the quality of health care provided to the Negro population is directly related to the number and the quality of Negro physicians able to service the community. (Reitzes, 1958)

The first program of the new organization was focused on two activities:

1. To assist Provident Hospital, a black hospital on Chicago's south side, to become a first rate institution of medical care and training of black physicians.

2. To provide post-graduate training opportunities for staff candidates, to assist in the provision of research opportunities, and to award fellowships for medical training and research.

By 1952, the board of PMA decided that a structural reorganization was in order. This decision was motivated by the gradual frictions that developed between the hospital staff and PMA board on the issue of administrative supervision of the hospital. The decision to reorganize involved: termination of all official relationships with Provident Hospital; changing the name of the organization to National Medical Fellowship, Inc.; expansion of the board membership to fifteen; inclusion of black physicians on the board.

Phase II: NMF Support of Black Physicians for Post-Graduate Training, 1952-1959

The thrust of the program in the second phase was the support of black physicians during their period of post-graduate training. This was emphasized because of the board's perception that an important breakthrough was taking place in opportunities for advanced training of black physicians with the opening up of internships and residencies to them. To take advantage of these opportunities was particularly important at that time because the other dimensions of the racial picture in medicine had not changed significantly. Hospitals still did not have significant representation of black physicians on their staffs. Nor had the situation regarding acceptance of black patients by white physicians and predominantly white hospitals changed significantly.

The interest of the board in advanced training was manifested in the variety of programs initiated in this phase and continued well into the 1960's. Scholarships for black medical students, which originated in the first phase, were still available. However, support of medical students did not rank high on the agenda.

Phase III: Support for Black Medical Students, 1959-1970

During the 1960's, the most obvious and blatant aspects of discrimination against black physicians and students were at least modified and, in some instances, disappeared. This was due to a number of factors, including the activities of NMF. Thus the need for some of the special programs that NMF instituted for advanced training began to diminish. The central problem for NMF at this point was "the motivation of able Negro boys and girls towards medicine, the preparation of youngsters and the financial ability to pay for the lengthy education" (NMF Staff Report, 1966). The role of NMF was changing to one of providing large scale financial assistance for black medical students to fully exploit the changes that were taking place.

Phase IV: Support for Minority Group Medical Students Based on Financial Need, 1970-1973

By the beginning of the 1970's, some changes in the racial and ethnic patterns in the United States had become clear, particularly from the perspective of NMF's program orientation. For example, concern for racial and ethnic minorities had widened to include those minorities not proportionately represented in the medical profession. Additionally, by the 1970's, "There was no school anywhere in the country with legal segregation barriers preventing Negroes from attending, and even those schools with no blacks present stated that they would have accepted qualified applicants" (Curtis, 1971).

In response to the new racial situation, NMF widened its program to include Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians and changed the criterion for grant recipients from excellence to need. By 1970, the thrust of the program was providing financial assistance to needy minority group students in medical schools, and, within this group, it focused on those in the first and second year: "It was felt that after a student is launched in the medical career and has received assistance during the first two years it should be possible for him to finance the last two years with loans" (Curtis, 1971).

Another important activity of NMF at the present is fund raising to meet the increasing demand for medical students' scholarships. One index of the results of these efforts is that NMF's 1972-73 budget was equal to the total expenditure of NMF during the first twenty-two years of its existence.

Impact of NMF Programs

The impact of NMF programs can best be ascertained by comparing the accomplishments of its grant and loan recipients--measured against the goals stated by NMF--with minority doctors in general.[1]

Speciality Board Certification

Speciality Board Certification was the one excuse which white hospitals used to exclude black physicians from their staff. Therefore, this criterion was one of the first targets for NMF activities. The data of our study indicate that NMF contributed significantly to the increase in the number of board certified black physicians. Of all 471 NMF alumni who graduated in 1970 or before, 196 (42 percent) are board certified. In comparison, of all 1,177 other physicians to whom we sent our questionnaire, 343 (29 percent) are board certified. NMF's effectiveness in providing the opportunity for black physicians to demonstrate their willingness and ability to take advantage of advanced training opportunities is also demonstrated by the fact that of the 100 physicians who received their MD degree before 1955, 81 (81 percent) are board certified. This training took place during the period when barriers against them were still strong and when it required special dedication and motivation for black physicians to obtain board certification.

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[1] The data for the present study come from the following sources:

1. Official records of NMF.

2. Personal interviews conducted by Dietrich Reitzes with 50 alumni and 67 students in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Tennessee, and at the NMA meeting in New York in 1973. These interviews were conducted to provide a sense of the experiences and reactions of NMF grant recipients.

3. The bulk of the data was obtained by two questionnaires. One was sent to the following two groups:

   a. NMF Grant Recipients. All recipients of NMF grants and loans who graduated from medical school in 1970 or before. A total of 471 cases with 59 percent returns, or 276 cases.

   b. Black Physicians in General. A parallel questionnaire was sent to a random sample of NMA members. A total of 1,177 questionnaires were sent with 30 percent returns, or 350 cases, hereinafter referred to as the other group.

   These questionnaires covered mainly the following areas: the decision to go into medicine, advanced training and sources of finance, hospital and medical school affiliations, and perception of racial discrimination.

   The second questionnaire was sent to a sample of NMF grant recipients who graduated since 1970 or are still in medical schools. A total of 1,243 questionnaires were mailed with 59 percent returns, or 734 cases. This questionnaire covered mainly the following areas: the decision to go into medicine and future plans, financial and academic problems and the ways in which they coped with them, perception of discrimination.

Hospital Appointments

Developments in the medical sciences and patient care have greatly increased the role of the hospital in the delivery of health care. Hospital affiliations are, therefore, of increasing importance for a physician to keep abreast of the advances in medicine and to enable him to hospitalize his patients. In past years, black physicians had difficulties in obtaining affiliations, particularly at the level of attending physician or above. These ranks give the physician full privileges and also involve him in the total functioning of the hospital.

One of the goals of NMF in past years was to increase the number of black physicians who have hospital appointments. A comparison of the NMF group with the other physicians indicates that NMF alumni have a slight edge in this area. The percentage of NMF alumni with no appointments (12 percent) is slightly smaller than the comparable figure for the other group (15 percent). The percentage with one appointment is almost the same for both groups--NMF 19 percent, other 20 percent; the percentage with two or more appointments is greater for NMF (43 percent) than other (37 percent); and the percentage for four to five appointments is slightly larger for the other group--NMF 27 percent, other 28 percent. Table I reports the number and percentage of appointments for both groups.

The improvements that have taken place in appointments of black physicians to predominantly white hospitals can be seen when we compare the present situation with that of the middle 1950's. While strictly comparable data were not available to us, we can use our 1955 study to provide a perspective. In the 1955 study, we collected information on affiliation of black physicians with predominantly white hospitals. The percentages of black physicians who had affiliations with predominantly white hospitals in the fourteen communities studied were as follows: Philadelphia--28 percent, Brooklyn--71 percent, Boston--21 percent, Chicago--7 percent, Gary--82 percent, Detroit--16 percent, Indianapolis--23 percent, Los Angeles--25 percent, Washington--4 percent, Kansas City--5 percent, St. Louis--11 percent. Atlanta, Nashville, and New Orleans had no black physicians with hospital affiliation in a predominantly white hospital (Reitzes, 1958).

While there is considerable range in the percentage of black physicians who had affiliation with predominantly white hospitals in 1955, only two communities were higher than 28 percent, and eight were below 20 percent. In contrast, 69 percent of our respondents reported that they had from two to five hospital appointments.

Medical School Affiliations

Appointment to the faculties of medical schools is not only an important indicator of the status of the individuals and groups in the medical profession, but it is of special importance to minority group medical students to have contact with representatives of their own ethnic group in academic positions. NMF has always attempted to make it possible for black physicians to become eligible and to be able to accept such appointments. Our data show that this goal has been accomplished. NMF alumni have received such appointments in substantially larger proportion than the other group. Of the 200 NMF respondents who were eligible for

Table 1

NUMBER OF HOSPITAL APPOINTMENTS

	NMF Doctors		Other Doctors	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
No Hospital Appointments	26	11.9	50	15.0
One Hospital Appointment	41	18.7	65	19.5
2-3 Hospital Appointments	94	42.9	123	36.8
4-5 Hospital Appointments	59	26.9	96	28.8
Total	220	100.0	334	100.0
N.A./in Training	56		16	
	276		350	

such appointments, 135 (61 percent) had such affiliations, while of the 326 from the other group, 175 (54 percent) had academic appointments. The rank distribution between the two groups is fairly even, except at the Associate Professor level where the percentage for the NMF group is almost double that of the other physicians. Table 2 gives the distribution of the two groups. Thus, our data suggests that the part of NMF's program which focused on aid to black physicians to enable them to participate in advanced training programs and to utilize this training for board certification, appointments to hospitals and medical schools, and, in general, to break down racial barriers in medicine was successful.

Aiding Minority Group Medical Students and Increasing Their Numbers

The interest of NMF in undergraduate medical students is relatively recent. Until 1956-60, these grants never exceeded sixteen. Beginning with the academic year 1960-61, the number of grants increased steadily, and it reached 134 in 1968-69. Then the number began to double for three years to 270 in 1969-70, 598 in 1970-71, to 1,164 in 1971-72. In 1972-73, NMF gave 1,518 grants to undergraduate minority medical students.

The importance of NMF's contribution to minority group medical students is indicated by the students' own designation of NMF as a source of their financial support. The sample of NMF grant recipients was asked to indicate their first, second, and third sources of financial support. Of the 734 students who answered this question, 169 (23 percent) stated that NMF was their first source of support. This was second only to the medical schools which were cited by 238 (35 percent) as the first source. The federal government was in third place, being cited by 100 (14 percent) of the students. As a second source of financial support, NMF was even in a stronger position. Over 43 percent of the respondents named NMF as the second most important source, followed by medical schools with over 21 percent, and bank loans with almost 15 percent. A similar pattern prevails for third source of support. Again, NMF is the most important third source, with almost 28 percent, followed by medical schools with 19 percent, and bank loans with 17 percent.

Breaking Down Racial Barriers

One of the purposes of providing advanced training to black physicians was to enable them to break down the racial barriers that existed in the opportunity structure of medicine. It was expected that this would provide increased chances for other minority members to get into and advance in medical careers.

While the post-World War II period was one in which racial barriers were generally broken down, a comparison between the NMF and the other group shows that efforts of NMF to focus on the breakdown of racial barriers were meaningful. Of the 233 NMF doctors who had answered this question, 168 (72 percent) had the experience of being a "first." Among the other group, of 343 respondents who answered this question, 189 (55 percent) had this experience. The types of situations in which they found themselves range from being the first black in a college, an officer of a student organization, being the first in a medical school, in a hospital, as an intern or a resident, as well as being the first physician to have

Table 2

MEDICAL SCHOOL RANK

	NMF Doctors		Other Doctors	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
No Position	85	38.6	151	46.3
Instructor	45	20.5	68	20.9
Assistant Professor	43	19.5	61	18.7
Associate Professor	35	15.9	28	8.6
Professor	2	5.5	18	5.5
Total	220	100.0	326	100.0
N.A./in Training	56		24	
	276		350	

regular privileges, the first on the attending staff in hospitals, or to gain an appointment to the faculty of a medical school.

Improving Health Delivery Systems to Minority Communities

On this point the evidence is more difficult to establish than on the others. NMF was directly involved in health service delivery systems only at its very beginning as Provident Medical Associates and its affiliation with Provident Hospital. Since that time, NMF operated on the assumption that helping black physicians would have the by-product of improving health care to the black community. We approached this issue by asking our respondents to indicate the ethnic and class composition of their patients, if they were in private practice. Criteria for the determination of economic status was left to the individual physician. The analysis that follows is based on these reports.

Information on the racial composition of patients was provided by 166 NMF alumni and by 259 other physicians. The NMF group reported that almost 55 percent served blacks, 6 percent served whites, and 39 percent served both groups. The other group reported that almost 76 percent served blacks, over 12 percent served whites, and 12 percent served both groups.

Information on the class composition of patients was provided by 163 NMF alumni and by 247 other physicians. These returns indicated that in the NMF group 63 (38 percent) served primarily the lower economic groups, and among the other group the number was 89 (36 percent). These data seem to indicate that black physicians serve an overwhelmingly black patient group. However, they also seem to show that within the black group they serve primarily middle and upper class groups rather than the lowest economic strata. Another indication of the extent to which black physicians contribute to the improvement of health delivery systems is their geographic distribution. deVise has pointed out that, in general, black physicians have the same pattern of distribution as white physicians, "like their white colleagues, they flock to California." Our data for both the NMF and other groups support the findings that black physicians seem to concentrate in specific areas. Of 276 NMF respondents, 82 (29.7 percent) reside in California, 57 (20.4 percent) in New York, 38 (13.7 percent) in Washington, D.C. Of the 350 other respondents, 50 (14.3 percent) reside in California, 45 (13.1 percent) in New York, and 39 (11.1 percent) in Washington, D.C. Thus, these three communities accounted for 63.8 percent of the NMF respondents and for 38.5 percent of the other respondents.

Since participation in public health programs and in community medical programs could be considered as contributions to the health delivery systems to minority groups, we asked our respondents to indicate whether they had ever been professionally involved in these programs. The results indicated that this type of activity was relatively minor for both groups of physicians. Of the 220 NMF respondents who answered this question, almost 76 percent indicated no involvement, while of the 332 other physicians who answered this question, almost 70 percent indicated no involvement.

Analysis

After twenty-five years of effort, the awarding of 6,654 grants, and an annual budget in 1973-74 of over two and one-half million dollars, problems of health care delivery to minority groups still persist. What are the tools that sociology can provide in identifying and explaining the successes and failures of NMF and other organizations with similar goals? The literature on social organization is adequate to explain what happened to NMF as an organization.

NMF is organized towards specific goals and was able to mobilize power to achieve those goals. It was and is an adaptive social structure with a formal and informal structure (Parsons, 1960; Selznick, 1948). The organizational goals of NMF show the process of goal displacement and goal succession. The goals were dynamic and varied within certain ranges (Sills, 1957; Thompson and McEwan, 1958; Perrow, 1961; Blau, 1955). The case study also shows the usefulness of Etzioni's concept of organizational evaluation based on a "system model" which has to devote some means to service and custodial activities (Etzioni, 1960).

The case study supports the validity of these concepts. However, the concepts do not provide a proper clue to understand the impact that NMF has had, nor do they provide guidelines for NMF's activities to increase their current effectiveness. Zald also stated that social scientists in their studies of change emphasize the adaptation of various groups to each other and use either the social psychological framework or focus too closely on the internal structure: "Scant attention is being paid to external pressures towards change or to overall organizational change. Theories and studies of internal organizational structures are more numerous than those of organizational relations" (Zald, 1970).

There are some indications of increasing interest in interorganizational analysis. Bell states that political questions of the future will include "the relations of the new professional and technical states to each other; the relations of the new technical intelligence to the political system, etc." (Bell, 1974). Allen proposes a theoretical paradigm based on interorganizational elite cooperation as an attempt by corporations to control their relationship to other corporations (Allen, 1974), and Cleveland stresses the point that the organization of the future will no longer be hierarchical, but will be a system (Cleveland, 1973).

Descriptive studies are more explicit in emphasizing the importance of the interorganizational aspect. Washnis, in assessing Model Cities programs, points to the difficulty in altering the basic ways agencies and governments operate: "Stone walls exist between most agencies and change agents who wish to improve coordination, acquire additional resources, improve service, or make agencies more responsive to local government and/or residents" (Washnis, 1974). Warren also indicates the difficulties in changing organizations. Thus, in the study of the impact of poverty programs, it was found that "organizational domain remained substantially the same, and taken as a whole the organizations were able to absorb the impact of federal programs and local disadvantaged groups with a minimum of noticeable change either as individual organizations or in relationship to each other" (Warren, 1971). He pointed out that the organizations retained the power to "dominate the definitions of where the problem lies, what has to be changed, and by whom, and with what methods . . . the resulting 'changes' constitute mutually compatible adjustments at the margins within a stable and controllable (even if not wholly predictable) environment" (Warren, 1971). As Conant points out, this analysis is equally true for public and private health agencies: "The trouble is that the agencies carve out separate domains and operate like fiefdoms. Each has its clientele and each has its sponsor. Planning and coordination among them is spasmodic and largely ineffective in terms of total community needs. Efforts to develop community wide health planning usually end up being dominated by agency leaders. Seldom is the larger public interest considered or successfully articulated" (Conant, 1968).

Alford has suggested that the medical delivery system should be analyzed from this perspective. He stressed that "both the expansion of the health care industry and the apparent absence of change are due to the struggle between different major interest groups operating within the context of a market society--professional monopolists controlling the major health resources, corporate rationalizers challenging their power, and the community population seeking better health care" (Alford, 1972). A similar analysis is made by Hammonds (1974).

In our increasingly urbanized, industrialized, and bureaucratized society (Stein, 1960), social issues are influenced more by the policies of large scale organizations than by individual decisions or attitudes. Corwin has expressed this: "The capacity of modern man to control his destiny in a changing organizational society hinges on his collective ability to deliberately change the key formal organizations" (Corwin, 1972). In the medical field, the key organizations are the medical school, the hospital, the physician, and the community.

The Medical School

Since 1910, following the Flexner Report, significant changes took place in medical education that influenced the educational system, the contour of organized medicine, and the quality of health care. Basic medical science was incorporated with education of physicians, and full-time clinical scientists were incorporated into clinical departments. The university hospitals developed initially as referral centers for patients with complex illnesses and gradually as centers for graduate training, as well as education of medical students. This evolution had a profound effect on the practice of medicine because the direct ties between academic medicine and the medical specialities hastened the deterioration of the status of the general practitioner.

Graduate education in specialities became the norm by the 1950's, and by the late 1960's nearly 90 percent of all medical students entered residency programs. The scientific advances which led to the significant improvement in the quality of medical education and medical care created a situation in which the medical centers became increasingly detached from their local communities and their parent university faculties, although attention to the needs of patients in the institutional setting usually has not been involved in the broad health care needs of the community. Therefore, despite the tremendous and real improvement in medical education, which followed the Flexner Report, and despite the great scientific advances, there is again a period of dissatisfaction with medical schools.

White points out that young physicians had only limited exposure to the ordinary health problems of the large general population due to their preoccupation with patients selected for teaching hospitals. This leaves "enormous qualitative and quantitative gaps in their experience and inevitably conditions their views about the tasks of contemporary medicine. The dimensions of the problem can be illustrated by considering the distribution of demand for medical care by a typical population of 100 persons in one year . . . the vast bulk of care is provided by physicians in ambulatory settings. Only 10% of the people are admitted to hospitals and only 1% to a university hospital where young physicians are trained. The discrepancy between the world of medical practice and that of medical education are more than those of town and gown. They are discrepancies of experience, responsibility, functions and scale" (White, 1973). It should be noted that the previous radical improvement in the medical schools was initiated by the Flexner Report, which was conducted at the urging of the AMA. At the present time, pressure for change is coming from sources outside of organized medicine.

The Hosptial

The increasing importance of the hospital in the provision of medical care is an indication of the increasing institutionalization of medicine. The hospital, rather than the physician's office, has become the "major workshop for the physician where he can see his patients, utilize expensive equipment provided by others, obtain laboratory and diagnostic aid, and have available the assistance of other practitioners and paramedical personnel" (Stevens, 1971).

While Knowles claims that the present position of the hospital in America is a direct reflection of society's needs, attitudes, beliefs, values, and economy, it is probably more accurate to state that the development of the hospital, like the development of medical schools, reflects the interests of well-organized and powerful groups. It is true, as Knowles states, that advances in medical technology and science make it obligatory for effective diagnosis and treatment that the physician has access to and utilizes the modern apparatus, specialists, and technicians which are centralized in the hospital. "The fact remains that the steady expansion of knowledge has necessitated specialization and the housing of advanced technology within the walls of the modern hospital and that these developments have been of pronounced benefit to mankind. Progress in medical science and in the specialized divisions of medical skills has changed medicine from an individual intuitive enterprise into a social service. The hospital is the institutional form of this social service. It has evolved from a house of despair for the sick to a house of hope for all social and economic classes in just the past sixty years" (Knowles, 1973).

Just as the development of the hospital probably reflected more the interest of the medical profession, it is also probably true that the benefits of the hospital were experienced by the medical profession.

The Physician

The developments described above obviously had great impact on the role and status of physicians. One aspect of the increasing institutionalization and complexity of modern medicine is that the proportions of physicians to other health service personnel has decreased. This has not necessarily diminished the power and importance of the physician, but it has changed the role of medical practice from the individual practitioner taking care of his patients to a team approach in which the doctor certainly is the captain. It is interesting to note that the AMA, as the most important organization of practicing physicians, has accepted the implications of these changes only reluctantly and selectively. Rayek has documented these shifts: "In 1900 for every physician in practice there was one other health practitioner. Today the ratio of professional and technical workers in the health field to physicians is almost four and a half to one. Even if we consider only medical occupations (excluding dental, nursing, environmental health, and health research occupations), the ratio to physicians is still more than three to one. For the health industry as a whole, the ratio of employees to doctors is ten to one" (Rayek, 1967).

The most important change that has taken place among physicians is the trend towards specialization. "The spectacular rise in the number of board certified specialists between 1950 and 1970 is one of the most significant changes that occurred in the structure of the American medical profession" (Dewey, 1973).

The Community

The community, as the recipient of health services, also has to be considered in this context. Since the community, in contrast to the physician and the hospital, is not directly involved in the provision of services, the important factor becomes under what conditions will it receive what services. In a study of political power, Michael Parenti points out that, "Party politicians are inclined to respond not to group needs but to group demands, and in political life, as in economic life, needs do not become marketable demands until they are backed by 'buying power' or 'exchange power' for only then is it in the 'producers' interest to respond. The problem with most lower-strata groups is that they have few political resources of their own to exchange" (Parenti, 1970). We believe that the same principle holds for the provision of health services. Community organization activities for health services are particularly important for minority groups because they are frequently not in a position to purchase such services. The problem is aggravated because the same people who cannot buy medical services are also in the weakest position to obtain them through community organization efforts. To be effective, community organization has to be supported by a network of communication and influence and by linkages of networks through informal business and social relationships. "The diffusion of power within a community implies that attempts to organize local interest groups must account for the limits of influential individuals and the informal communication network that links these individuals. Furthermore there must be an understanding of the processes by which new interest groups emerge from the community" (Nevius, 1973).

Specifically, in the area of community organization for health services, Conant identifies the ingredients necessary: knowledgeable, determined leadership especially skilled in identifying and resolving conflicts of interests among a wide variety of contending interests; a source of legal authority and enforceable sanctions; a reliable source of money in proportion to established goals; a capacity to combine public and private interests of the community with resources of other levels of government; a capacity for skilled analysis of community health problems (i.e., a highly trained research staff) (Conant, 1968).

Alford states: "Because the community is not self-conscious and knowledgeable about health facilities, and because members of the community are likely to give food, jobs, housing and schools priority over doctors and hospitals--since only a small proportion of the community needs health care at any given time--the equal health advocates are likely to have a great deal of autonomy in representing community needs to official agencies" (Alford, 1972).

Discussion

The nature and quality of health services provided to communities depend primarily on policies and practices of institutions which control it--the medical schools, the hospitals, physicians' organizations, and community organizations. Our case study analysis suggests that dealing with specific aspects of the system, such as discrimination in medical schools, hospital appointments, and patient care, can successfully correct some of these aspects without significantly changing the basic problems. NMF started as a change agent with the goal to break down racial barriers in the medical profession and to improve the health delivery to black communities. The study shows that NMF contributed to removing some of the more flagrant aspects of discrimination, but did not significantly affect the delivery aspect. Particularly important is the fact that, when racial barriers in medical schools started to break down, NMF decided to put its efforts into helping students to take advantage of this breakdown. NMF's goal thus changed from change agent to support agent. Our data suggests that, at the present, while NMF helps minority group students to pursue medical education, it does not necessarily improve health delivery to minority communities.

The paper suggests that to accomplish the latter would require attempts to change the organizational structure of medicine rather than specific aspects of it. There has been some attention to this in the daily press. In May, 1974, the Chicago *Sun Times* published an article based on statements by Dr. Jesse L. Steinfeld, a former United States Surgeon General. He is reported to have stated that attempts to make piecemeal repairs on the nation's patchwork health care system will run the risk of doing more harm than good: "A co-ordinated national health policy with clear priorities administered by a separate federal department of health is needed." He also pointed out that "if . . . our society through Congress wishes a structural reorganization of medical practices this will have to begin in the medical schools and university hospitals."

In December, 1974, the Chicago *Sun Times* reported that Dr. Charles C. Edwards, Assistant Secretary for Health in the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, also recommended "sweeping changes . . . in the way medical care is delivered." He argued for organization to review professional standards, health maintenance organizations, comprehensive health manpower legislation, and a health planning system. Also in May, 1974, Ellis Cose, a *Sun Times* columnist, devoted one column to the attempts by community organizations to change the health care system.

Thus, attempts are being made to change the system. What is needed are specific sociological analyses which will help us to understand what works and what does not in attempts by some government or community organizations to change other organizations.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE MINORITY ADMINISTRATOR

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During the late 1960's black and white students arose en masse to challenge the institutional order of society. Conservatism throughout society came under attack, and a major focus of student criticism was the educational system. Scholars are still debating whether the confrontations achieved the goals that minority students, educators, and others had in mind for it. However, it is clear that since the 1960's there has ensued a very broad range of educational reforms. These reforms, in turn, have given rise to a debate among blacks and other minorities. One view is that educators during the sixties were hopelessly romantic and unrealistic, and their efforts inevitably harmed efforts to implement a viable interpretation of education through the development of alternative educational structures outside of the system. Another view expressed by less radicalized elements argue that the American educational system is not utopian and could be made more suitable to the needs and problems of all of its citizens. It is impossible to resolve this debate as long as one assumes, as many do, that minorities have nothing concrete to offer the American educational experience.

Recently, past achievements by minorities have been repudiated one by one and replaced by a more conservative educational policy, a policy which, with minor variations, continues to be pursued to this day. It was this more conservative educational policy which was most pronounced in our memory through the speeches of former Vice-President Spiro Agnew. This conservative educational policy gained momentum throughout the country after the leaders of the predominantly white institutions began to echo sentiments that their consciences had been cleansed and the novelty of the "rapping" of the black students, the conferences with the black professors, and the noise of the black community had worn off. In other words, institutions began to denounce the educational policy adopted during the confrontation of the sixties to revert back to the structure that systematically excluded blacks. Today, we find ourselves in another setting, with the work of the past decade still incomplete. Our present problem is finding a way in which we can utilize education for the good of the minority community.

Grace Lee Goggs, in "Education: The Great Obsession," sets the perspective to view the need for administrators and educators who can do more than manage educational programs on a traditional basis. Boggs emphasizes the need for harnessing education with the following comments:

> Education today is a great obsession. It is also a great necessity. We, all of us, black and white, yellow and brown, young and old, men and women, workers and intellectuals, have a great deal to learn about ourselves and about the rapidly changing

> world in which we live. We, all of us, are far from having either the wisdom or the skills that are now more than ever required to govern ourselves and administer things.
>
> In the present struggle for a new system of education to fulfill the pressing need, the black community constitutes the decisive social force because it is the black community which the present educational system has most decisively failed.[1]

The appearance or the appointment of a minority administrator is far less important than his or her actions and the results of his or her programs. The need for a minority administrator becomes more apparent when we consider the fact that virtually all minority students in the United States are being educated in an environment which is hostile to their development as members of their own community. They are being trained to participate in a society to which they do not fully belong, and are alienated from the people to whom they owe their primary allegiance. Hopefully, the minority administrator will be able to alter the situation so that an increasing number of skilled minority people will be available for revitalizing the minority community and society in general. The basic purpose of this paper is to review the role that the minority administrator plays in establishing and implementing educational policy.

As educators become involved in the educational system, it is not uncommon for them to become oblivious to the real aims and goals of education. The mechanics of operating a large educational enterprise with diverse personnel and clientele are overwhelming educators so that they come to perceive their function only in relation to decisions regarding internal managerial efficiency and give little or no attention to the outcome of the educational process. Consequently, administrators and the administrative structure must be changed to permit increased opportunity for delegation of responsibility and to redefine education in order to make it responsive and accountable to the particular community being served.

Change, and the need for change, continue to be seen in all aspects of life. Despite the attempt of institutions to revert back to their old practices, we continue to find long established social values being rejected and moral values of past generations being questioned. New cultures and sub-cultures are coming on the scene. Science is replacing many aspects of religion. Long established beliefs and practices are being challenged, rebuffed, and changed. Man is constantly being forced to adjust to the dynamic forces of society. Schools, like other institutions, are making some adjustments to these revolutionary social forces, but they fall short of providing students with an education for individual excellence according to his or her abilities.

Never has there been the need or more favorable time for educational change. Never has educational leadership of the highest order been at such a premium. Hopefully, a network of minority administrators could become the key through which this change could occur. Traditionally, the administrator's primary role has been to maintain the efficient operation of the status quo. Recently, with the perspective of the minority administrator, it is hoped that the primary role of the administrator will come to be viewed as the promoter of innovations, rather than a supporter of existing operations and the status quo. We need people who will question bureaucratic organizations that have long been recognized by many for high productivity or capability and by others for their relatively low innovative capacity. One can hope the minority administrator will aid the white administrator to increase the readiness of organizations to generate and implement innovations that can ground administrative leadership in what is morally right.

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[1] Grace Lee Boggs, "Education: The Great Obsession." Lecture delivered at the University Center for Adult Education, Wayne State University, Fall, 1969.

The minority administrator should be a change agent who is more than capable of putting teeth into a half-hearted system, despite the original design or the outdated or short-sighted policy that he or she is held responsible for implementing. Operating the system effectively is not his or her chief concern, especially when it is not achieving. The minority administrator who will function in the educational setting will and must have vision--the kind of vision that will accept the proposition that there is no place for an education that places emphasis on superficial and irrelevant expectations and permits any of America's children to learn on a plane of mediocrity. The minority administrator should be able to get down to earth and find out "what's happening." In other words, the responsibility of an administrator, whether it be that of a president, superintendent, or principal, requires an active interest and involvement in human interpersonal relations that goes far beyond the concept or the word; it involves much more than creating paper programs and being interested only in narrowly defined management by objective goals.

Minority administrators must make a real distinction between competency-based education and mis-education. It is impossible for us to state the impact that the minority administrator has had on education because of the forces that came into play prior to their arrival on the scene. One must look at events from an historical perspective to understand that black administrators were not just discovered and have always been around. As chief administrators, they have been basically relegated to black institutions of higher education or to their own black public schools that were operating on a separate but equal status prior to the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

The educational policy that has been suited for administrators assumes too much about the minority administrator. This policy, which has become a standard of practice, assumes that a minority person once he or she becomes an administrator is an essential part of the organizational structure. This also assumes that he or she is a direct beneficiary of all assets. However, most situations find the exact opposite to be true. Usually, and in a number of cases prior to and after the revolution of the sixties, particularly at predominantly white university institutions, we find minority administrators thrust into positions where policies have already been established and decisions made without their consultation or the participation of other minorities affected. Obviously, if anything is ever going to be accomplished, the recommended system would be one that allows the minority administrator to reach a degree of self-actualization and power by allowing him to initiate, as well as direct, policies and act as more than a consultant or special assistant.[2]

Dan Aldridge states that when one raises the question of power, one incurs the obligation and responsibility of putting forward a program which makes clear what one would do with that power.[3] I agree, despite the fact that blacks have complained bitterly about the educational system, they have not proposed a meaningful program for change. Given the present alignment of power, the minority administrator has been placed in a precarious and sometimes impossible position to deliver something he really cannot. Accepting the responsibility to carry out his assignment, the minority administrator must realize that he or she is not necessarily dictated to by sheer numbers alone and that education must be turned in a direction that can help solve the complex problems in urban areas that are decimating blacks and other minorities who are not in possession of the power necessary to solve their problems. The minority administrator must take a direction that will allow the necessary means to educate with a purpose, content, and structure.

The dilemma as presently situated is focused on who grants or gives the black administrator the power and authority to administer, what and who does he administer, who he is accountable to, and what is the outcome of his administration. Naturally, looking at our society from a realistic and practical viewpoint, education being a business and tool of control, the question of who grants or gives anyone power and authority to administer our educational enterprises must be viewed within the context of complementing interest groups. Included here are teachers' unions, trade unions, publishing companies, equipment manufacturing companies, building contractors, politicians, and others. Recognition of the groups must be considered before the basic question about whether or not the administrator can alter the process of education as it is practiced in a particular educational setting can be answered.

It should be explicitly clear to minority persons that the position of the minority administrator is a very ambiguous one. We must understand that we are speaking of minorities operating in a bi-modal society in order to respond to any of the dilemmas of the minority administrator. Assuming that we, as minorities, have developed a sufficient rationale, some of the dilemmas facing minority administrators can be identified.

Historically, the existing agenda, as most blacks and other minorities understand it, has been destructive to their aspirations. The best way to understand the pressing need for minority administrators is to think of them as trying to humanize the existing educational structure. In fact, think of them as trying to develop a new kind of order. This new order, for example, would come about by defining minorities in the same positive light as whites. For example, the thousands of minority minds that are mis-programmed and retarded in the Chicago Public Schools is a case in point. If as many white children as minority children were getting "ripped off," the Chicago Public Schools would have been revamped twenty to thirty years ago.

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[2] Alvin Poussaint, "The Black Administrator in the White University," *The Black Scholar*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Sept., 1974, pp. 8-14.

[3] Dan Aldridge, "Our Children Are Our Hope and Our Future," *Education to Govern*, All-African Peoples Union, p. 6.

What needs to be advocated is a different relationship, a new kind of educational philosophy, new roles for the students, new roles for the parents, and a total re-assessment of the relationship of the community to the educational facility. The minority administrator's task would not be to demonstrate that there has been a deliberate effort in this country to systematically exclude minority people, but rather to get on with the job of educating people so that their intelligence could be utilized in a systematic and rigorous way to solve the problems of society. The minority administrator should be dealing with the wishes and desires of his community. The use of crisis and conflict in constructive ways is another of the arduous tasks that the minority administrator must be prepared to face in order to help rationalize the educational scene, aiding minority students in developing their intellectual capacities and a sense of responsibility that is designed to maintain a responsive and accountable society. The people who have been educated have not been educated to do this. For these reasons, support should be given for the infusion of minority administrators, administrators who can keep education focused in the right direction.

If minority administrators are placed in responsible positions, they will accept the challenge and become astute enough to make the existing educational system aware that there are certain decisions about the lives of black people that no white person who really respects a black person will make. The minority administrator, along with his minority constituency, should strive to achieve a cultural pluralism in which black, white, and other people recognize that, if they are going to respect each other and co-exist, there are certain decisions that cannot be made dictatorially about each other's lives.

Institutions have been remiss in using their power to advance the cause of minority administrators as well as minorities, period. For example, the relationships between the Chicago Housing Authority, the Chicago Board of Education, and black parents and children are very instructive. The Housing Authority and the Board of Education have made a farce out of the lives of thousands of black parents and their children who reside in Chicago public housing areas such as Cabrini-Green, Robert Taylor, and Stateway Gardens. The value of the parents' psychological involvement or participation in the choice of homes or kind of schools that affect their lives is nil. In this instance, a minority administrator could assure the psychological involvement and participation in the realm and reality of functional policy making.

The minority administrator, similar to any administrator, must have autonomy. Most educators agree that the vitality and depth of an individual can be realized only if he or she is free to interact with all of their resources as well as extraneous influences.

These suggestions are by no means the total answer to the increased need for better administrators and minority administrators to meet the growing crisis in education. Issues and recommendations could be added, subtracted, or altered in accordance with unique situations faced by administrators.

Most of the changes that appear to be on the horizon for administrators of our institutions must be pronounced departures from the traditional pattern. These changes have been coming about gradually, and trends both in public education and in the society at large have already started the transition. This change will have to be systematically accelerated in order to achieve the greater accountability of education to meet the critical challenges of contemporary and "future shock" society.

Years of history have made it clear that educational institutions cannot accomplish everything Americans have expected of them. Neither the schools nor any other human institution can save man. Ultimately, the salvation of the world depends on the good will and intelligence of individual people themselves, not their institutions. But educational institutions can try to help develop sensitive and compassionate people by laboring to instill in the young the desire to know the truth and to do the right.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AS A MODEL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

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Affirmative Action is perhaps the most recent tool by which the federal government attempts to meet its commitment of equal opportunity for all of its citizenry. The thrust of this new concept has been directed toward higher education and industry. Although Affirmative Action may not have become a household term, it has received its share of notoriety on college and university campuses, as well as in various local governments. While its meaning may not be altogether clear, Affirmative Action is frequently mentioned in the news media and is often a topic of discussion among educators and lay leaders alike.

The concepts of equal employment and affirmative action are defined differently by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. According to the Higher Education Guidelines Handbook, the "Executive Order 11246 embodies two concepts: nondiscrimination and affirmative action." The distinction made between each concept is outlined below:

> Nondiscrimination requires the elimination of all existing discriminatory conditions, whether purposeful or inadvertent. A university contractor must carefully and systematically examine all of its employment policies to be sure that they do not, if implemented as stated, operate to the detriment of any persons on grounds of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. The contractor must also ensure that the practices of those responsible in matters of employment, including all supervisors, are nondiscriminatory.[1]

In other words, this concept is viewed as a neutral statement of policy whereby each contracting agency assures the federal government that it does not discriminate in employment on the basis of race, color, sex, or religion.

The other concept, affirmative action, refers to requirements that universities:

> . . . do more than ensure employment neutrality with regard to race, color, religion, sex, and national origin. As the phrase implies, affirmative action requires the employer to make additional efforts to recruit, employ and promote qualified members of groups formerly excluded, even if that exclusion cannot be traced

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[1] United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, *Higher Education Guidelines, Executive Order 11246*, October 1, 1972, p. 3.

to particular discriminatory actions on the part of the employer.[2]

The basic premise which distinguishes the two concepts is one of specific measurable steps which an employer must take in order to "overcome the effects of systemic institutional forms of exclusion and discrimination," or something which the HEW Guidelines refer to as "benign neutrality in employment practices" which tend to "perpetuate the *status quo ante* indefinitely."[3] In other words, agencies and institutions which receive federal funds must state specifically what measures they will undertake to realize the actual hiring of minority and women applicants.

Just as there are numerous sociological theories past and present which outline various means of effecting social change, Affirmative Action programs also represent a means for bringing about significant social change. Based on this premise, the primary purpose of this paper is to examine the concept and construct of Affirmative Action in terms of its impact in the field of higher education. An effort will be made to show how Affirmative Action can become a model for social change by relating it to the Order and Conflict theories of sociological thought. These particular theories were selected as close approximations of ideas and notions related to the pros and cons, the liberal and the conservative, the pragmatic and the idealistic views associated with Affirmative Action.

Federal regulations and guidelines on Affirmative Action require a set of specific and result-oriented acts in order to be viewed as effective. A close examination of the concept in terms of social change should more precisely outline for the practitioner a means of adequately determining the extent to which the practitioner's success in accomplishing Affirmative Action goals is achieved. Accordingly, a secondary intent of this paper is to provide further insight into the concept of Affirmative Action from a broad perspective outlining the possible effectiveness of such programs.

In October, 1972, J. Stanley Pottinger, then Director of the Office for Civil Rights, sent a memorandum to college and university presidents calling their attention to the "requirements that all universities and colleges with Federal contracts comply with Executive Order 11246, 'Nondiscrimination Under Federal Contracts.'" Mr. Pottinger went on to point out that the Office of Civil Rights expected all colleges and universities receiving federal funds to "henceforth be in compliance with the Order and its implementing regulations" as stated in the various federal guidelines on Affirmative Action.

Having witnessed the initiation of an Affirmative Action program at a major Midwestern university, it is safe to state that these guidelines were not welcomed with open arms into the sacrosanct world of academia. In fact, Affirmative Action was met with mixed emotions among minority academicians as well as women. Many feared that Affirmative Action, another approach to equal opportunity, would inevitably result in another "dream deferred." Some academicians saw it as a means of giving priority or preferential treatment to a select few which obviously did not include them. William Moore and Lonnie Wagstaff, in their study of *Black*

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*

Educators in White Colleges (1974), stated that academicians "did not respond to affirmative action enforcement procedures with magnanimity or equanimity."[4] They further explained that "instead of providing leadership which would help bring about equity in the employment of minorities, some of them looked for reasons why such a plan would not work."[5]

In an article entitled "Affirmative Action 4 Years After" by Cheryl M. Fields, which appeared in the August, 1974, issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Ms. Fields discussed with several Affirmative Action Officers the concept of Affirmative Action. She wrote that "many white administrators, department chairmen, and other leading academicians saw the federal government's authority to review their employment practices and to force changes if they were found to be inequitable, as a potentially dangerous encroachment on institutional autonomy and an invitation for 'reverse discrimination.'" She further stated that after four years of effort on the part of many persons working in the area of Affirmative Action, in addition to the federal government's legal authority, there has been no dramatic change in the actual composition of faculties and staffs at colleges and universities. "Instead," according to Ms. Fields, "affirmative action has proven to be a case study of how difficult it is to force profound change in an institution as complex, prestigious, slow-moving and sensitive to the economy--as college or university." Consequently, in the view of many minorities and women, Affirmative Action has proven to be ineffective in obtaining positive results in the employment of minorities and women or is, at best, another "dream deferred."

If one were to consider the expressed intent of Affirmative Action on the college campuses, that is, to increase the number of minorities in teaching, administrative, and civil service positions, and increased enrollment of minority students, it is possible to view the concept of Affirmative Action as a contradiction to the democratic ideal and notion of achievement through merit which is held in high esteem in the academic world. In fact, the notion of external forces being applied in an effort to "force" social change for the establishment of a new set of norms is termed "anomy." Anomy, according to John Horton, "means system imbalance or social disorganization--a lack of or breakdown in social organization reflected in weakened social control, inadequate means to achieve system goals, inadequate socialization, etc. . . . anomy results in the failure of individuals to meet the maintenance needs of the social system."[6] The social system, in this context, would be the colleges and universities, and the maintenance needs would be the traditional set of credentials.

Assuming that anomy is an adequate description of one cause affecting the positive reception of Affirmative Action, that Affirmative Action is here to stay for some time to come, and that enforcement procedures relative to Affirmative Action will be refined and used continuously by the federal government as a means of implementing the various laws and orders pertaining to Affirmative Action, there are still questions which remain to be answered by colleges and universities. What is the best means of bringing about desired results? What procedural steps should be established in order to effect the implementation of policy matters pertaining to Affirmative Action, and who should be held accountable within the university system for implementing various aspects of Affirmative Action? While this paper will not attempt to answer these questions directly, it will provide insights into possible resolutions.

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[4] William Moore, Jr., and Lonnie H. Wagstaff, *Black Educators in White Colleges* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publications, 1974), p. 74.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

[6] John Horton, "Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems as Competing Ideologies," *Majority and Minority*, Norman R. Yetman and C. How Steel (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972), p. 18.

The order theorist views society as "a system of action unified at the most general level by shared culture, by agreement on values (or at least on modes), of communication and political organization."[7] In other words, the society, or better, the actors in the environment which together comprise the society, should have similar beliefs, values, interests, expectations, and norms. These similar expectations, interests, values, and norms, together with effective methods of communication and interaction, result in the system being better able to make the necessary change(s) to accommodate the "newness" being introduced into the system. For example, if colleges and universities could agree on the value and relative worth of the goals of Affirmative Action, it would be much easier to institute the change necessary to comply with the spirit and intent of Affirmative Action goals and guidelines. Thus, a particular type of university systemic arrangement established to administer the Affirmative Action program would at least be better understood.

In introducing change into the order system, there is a definite beginning of an innovative idea. The idea is gradually introduced into the existing system. The system, through its regular processes, has time to adjust to the "newness," then makes the necessary structural arrangements to accommodate the change. Once the change has been introduced into the system and has been accepted, stabilization takes place and a new order emerges.

The order theorists also view the "System Approach" to organizational control as a means of preserving the orderly workings of the organization. Innovation introduced into the order model is viewed as continuous, whereas the innovations introduced into the conflict model can be seen as cyclical. This point is illustrated by Figure 1.

From the point of view of the order theorist, the conflict model appears to have no finite beginning or ending. A new idea is formed and introduced into the system directly forcing an abrupt change to take place only to be disrupted in a short period of time by the introduction of further change into the system. In other words, the system never appears to have the time to assimilate the "newness." Thus, continuous conflict is the new result. This point is illustrated by Figure 2.

The conflict theorists reject the order theory because in their interpretation of order theory it is viewed as "the strategy of a ruling group, a re-edification of their values and motivations, a rationalization

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Figure 1

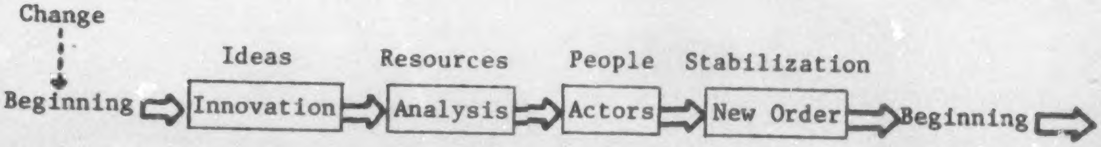
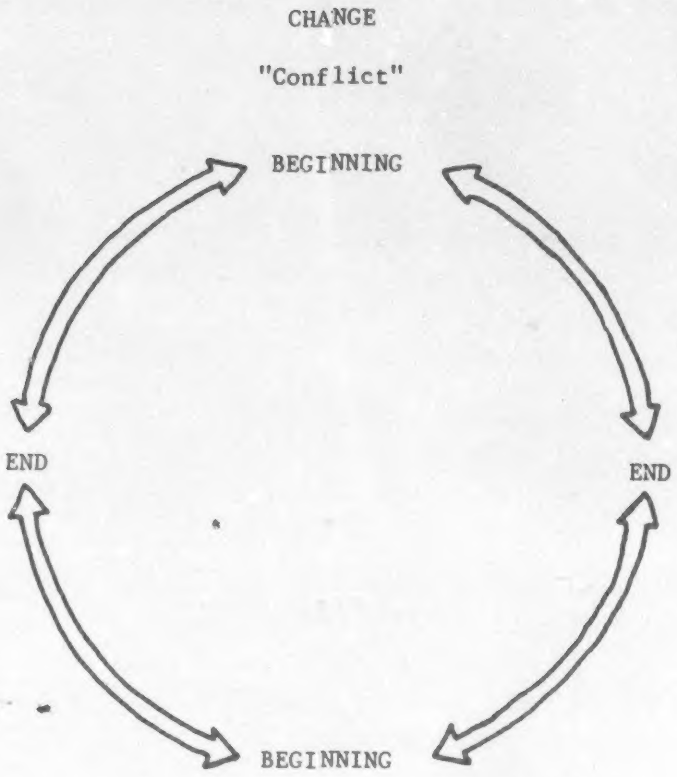

Change
Ideas
Resources
People
Stabilization
Beginning
Innovation
Analysis
Actors
New Order
Beginning

Figure 2


CHANGE
"Conflict"
BEGINNING
END
END
BEGINNING

for more effective social control."[8] John Horton further differentiates between conflict and order theory by noting that for the conflict theorist, society is "a continually contested political struggle between groups with opposing goals and world views" while society for the order analyst is a "natural system." Any deviation from the "natural system" produces anomy imbalance or social disorganization.

Anomic people, according to Leigh Marlowe, represent disorganization on the individual level. Groups may be disorganized by the inclusion of unstable individuals, or by disruptive relations with other groups.[9] Horton, in discussing the theories of order and conflict as models for understanding social problems, makes the assumption that groups or individuals committed to the maintenance of the social status quo employ order models of society and equate deviation with non-conformity to institutional norms. Dissident groups, striving to institutionalize new claims, favor a conflict analysis of society and alienation theory of their own discontents.[10]

Social conflict by its very nature is historical. Many theorists view conflict as having been evident for centuries indicating that, as long as there have been people and society, there have been differences. Conflict may be viewed on a theoretical as well as an empirical level. Writers such as Coser, Gluckman, and Dahoendorf have tended to express the theoretical point of view implying that conflict may be studied, not as a disruptive force of social systems, but as having a function within those systems. Coser makes a broad distinction between conflicts that fail to contradict basic assumptions upon which the relationship is founded as opposed to conflicts in which contending parties no longer share the basic values upon which the legitimacy of the social system rests.

In sociology, professional organizations are examples of order theory applied. These organizations are usually bureaucracies which are organized in terms of a hierarchy. Max Weber characterized the bureaucracy in the following manner:

> 1) It is based on the notion of formalism which tends to support and promote the interests and security of the personnel involved in that system or organization.
>
> The alternative would be arbitrariness, and hence formalism is the line of least resistance.[11]

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[8] Max Weber, "The Ideal Bureaucracy," *Groups and Organizations: Integrated Readings in the Analysis of Social Behavior*, Bernard L. Hinton and H. Joseph Reitz, eds. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 456-57.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 214.

[11] Peter M. Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 30.

What Weber is pointing out here is that in a particular organization which has been established to achieve a specific goal, it is essential for the members or personnel within the organization to function in accordance with the goals of the organization. Failure on the part of the actors within the system (organization) to operate in harmony with the organization's (system's) goals results in dysfunction.

> 2) There is the tendency of the officials to treat their official function from a utilitarian point of view in the interest of those under their authority. This utilitarian tendency is generally expressed, however, in the form of strict enforcement of regulatory measures.[12]

Some educational administrators view this particular aspect of Weber's theory as a major weakness when applying this theory to educational systems. His theory of bureaucracy was based essentially on the operation of government and business.

> 3) The principles of office hierarchy and of levels of graded authority mean a firmly ordered system of super- and subordination in which there is a supervision of the lower offices by the higher ones.[13]

> 4) Employment in the bureaucratic organization is based on technical qualifications and is protected against arbitrary dismissal.[14]

In most cases, college and university staff personnel are considered technicians. Their technical expertise allows them the opportunity to serve several different chief administrative officials. The chief administrators are usually the policy makers who rely on the technical expertise of staff personnel to implement different policy decisions.

The bureaucratic organization tends to be resistant to change. Victor A. Thompson, in an article on "Bureaucracy and Bureaupathology," further explains the bureaucracy's resistance to change in this manner:

> Bureaucratic organizations have to administer change carefully. Perhaps most people resist change just for the sake of change. The burden of proof is on the side of those advocating change. However, resistance to change may also be exaggerated by insecure officials; it may become bureaupathic. In an organizational context dominated by the need to control,

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[12] Victor A. Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Bureaupathology," in *Groups and Organizations: Integrated Readings in the Analysis of Social Behavior*, Bernard L. Hinton and H. Joseph Reitz, eds. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 469.

[13] Horton, "Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems as Competing Ideologies," *Majority and Minority*, p. 19.

[14] Leigh Marlowe, *Social Technology, An Interdisciplinary Approach to Human Behavior* (Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1971), p. 635.

> innovation is dangerous because, by definition, it is not controlled behavior. It creates risks of errors and therefore of sanctions. To encourage innovation, an insecure supervisor would have to extend the initiative to subordinates and thereby, lose control. Furthermore, in an insecure, competitive group situation, innovation threatens the security of all members of the group, and for this reason, tends to be suppressed by informal group action, as well as by the insecure supervisor.[15]

Thompson further explains that excessive bureaucratic inertia, however, is much less widespread than is supposed, and it now seems unlikely that an organization still exists which is particularly resistant to innovation. He states that the bureaucratic form of organization in fact replaced the more traditionalistic form of organization in order to accommodate change.

Affirmative Action viewed in this context is change. It forces the university to do differently what it had done in the past in terms of employment of faculty and staff personnel. The typical university in the past has maintained a posture which, by its own definition, has been non-discriminatory. However, viewed from the point of view of those advocating Affirmative Action, its practices and procedures have been too slow and non-functional in achieving the goals of Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action, by definition, should be "a set of specific and result-oriented procedures. . . . The objective of those procedures . . . is equal employment opportunity."[16] In regard to employment opportunity, the University has generally maintained the status quo which tends to support the constructs which embody the order theory of sociological thought and which contradicts those who advocate equal employment/Affirmative Action. This notion is further illustrated in Table 1.

Values which underlie conflict theory refer to what is required to grow and change rather than what is necessary to adjust to existing practices and hypothesized requirements for the maintenance of the social system. According to Coser:

> Conflict frequently helps to revitalize existent norms. In this sense, social conflict is a mechanism for adjustment of norms adequate to new conditions. A flexible society benefits from conflict by helping to create and modify norms and assure the continuance of conflict under changed conditions.[17]

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[15] Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Bureaupathology," *Groups and Organizations*, p. 17.

[16] Lewis A. Coser, *The Function of Social Conflict* (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1956), p. 154.

[17] Amitai Etzioni, "Authority Structure and Organization Effectiveness," in *Groups and Organizations: Integrated Readings in the Analysis of Social Behavior* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1971), p. 479.

Table 1

ORDER MODEL/CONFLICT MODEL

Point A Status Quo (Order Model)	Point B Affirmative Action (Conflict Model)
This university does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, age, or national origin.	Must do more than ensure employment neutrality with regard to race, color, religion, sex, age, and national origin.
This university recruits on the basis of best "qualified person" for the position.	Must make additional efforts to recruit, employ, and promote qualified members of groups formerly excluded, even if that exclusion cannot be traced to particular discriminatory action.
This university has an established procedure which promotes on the basis of achievement through merit.	Must determine whether minorities are being under-utilized, under-evaluated, and under-paid.
This university does not subscribe to the establishment of programs designed to discriminate in any form for any purpose whether intentional or not.	Must set specific goals and timetables designed to further employment opportunities for minorities and women.

Coser further indicates that social conflict is more likely to become disruptive when there exists a high frequency of interaction and high personal involvement of the members than in groups comprising individuals who participate only segmentally. In other words, conflict abounds when the actors within the social system personalize their interaction instead of concentrating on the problem within the system. If Vice-President X, who happens to be responsible for policy development in, for example, the area of personnel, becomes overly upset or concerned when asked to review present personnel policies and practices, this anxiety could be related to high personal involvement. The resultant effect in this case could be a conflict. This is not to suggest, however, that the entire system should be disrupted by the existence of conflict. Instead, conflict may only be centered around a particular person and a particular issue.

Another dimension of conflict relates to group behavior. Some individuals believe that social problems and social change arise from the exploitation and alienating practices of dominant groups representing responses to the discrepancy between what is and what ought to be (the process of becoming). In other words, social conflicts do not reflect administrative problems of the social system nor necessarily the failure of individuals to perform their system roles, but rather, the adaptive failure of society to meet changing individual and group needs. Had society lived up to the intent and spirit of the historic United States Constitution, particularly that aspect which guarantees "equal opportunity," new orders and regulations on Affirmative Action would not be necessary.

It is generally recognized that people or groups having similar goals and concerns may at some point in time come together to function as a unit in attaining a desired aim. Coser states that conflict brings together those who unite against the common enemy and that where there are a lot of cross-cutting conflicts in a social system, one's enemy in relation to one's conflict situation may be one's ally in relation to another. At this point, he feels social solidarity will be ensured. According to John Rex, in his book *Key Problems of Sociological Theory*, this depends, however, on how true it is that social life proceeds entirely by way of ad hoc coalitions.

It appears there are times when social conflicts lose momentum or individuals or groups change their original course of action. Coser refers to this kind of conflict and relates it to a safety valve type premise in which there is a displacement of the goal which the actor seeks. The aim is no longer reaching a solution to the unsatisfactory situation, but merely releasing tension which arises from it. This viewpoint is shared by Parsons and suggests that when conflicts are of the safety valve type, they are compatible with the maintenance of social order.

Social conflict of an empirical nature may be viewed through the writings of Weber, Mannheim, and Myrdal. Myrdal makes three assumptions:

1) That there are conflicts of value premises or aspirations of aims between groups in American society.

2) That these conflicts are sufficiently radical in scope to affect the

structure of the society at almost any point studied. (It is because of this that Myrdal insists value premises should be made clear in any study of structure.)

3) That the actual course of events is likely to be determined by the power at the disposal of groups and that the balance of power might change so that particular value premises might gain in social significance.

In viewing the order and conflict theories, it seems natural to want to compare innovations to see how they resemble or differ in terms of sociology theory. Having attempted to define both order and conflict theories and to identify verbally and through illustrations their similarities and differences, the following section will examine the relationship of the theories to Affirmative Action.

It was noted earlier that some social scientists view order theory as a system of action unified at the most general level by shared culture, by agreement on values, communications, and organization or structure. They also view change as being introduced into the order system in a gradual manner, thus allowing the system to take the necessary time to adjust to the change being introduced. Before a college or university can effectively change personnel policies and practices to effect the goals of Affirmative Action, the chief executive must see to it that line supervisors and other key administrators share his commitment to act in accordance with the goals of Affirmative Action. In other words, if the university president made a unilateral decision to change policy or implement new hiring procedures without consultation with his line officers, he might well run the risk of creating conflict instead of implementing change. Even after consulting his colleagues, who still may not agree with his decision, having given them the opportunity to react to the presidential proposal, implementation may result in agreement on the values which influenced his decision. His action to discuss his proposal before implementation would have the effect of introducing change into the system in a gradual manner allowing the necessary time for the system to adjust to the change being introduced.

For the purpose of this paper, the university is viewed as a professional organization which reflects the application of order theory. The university is a collection of people joined together by similar beliefs, values, interests, expectations, and norms--coordinated human efforts to realize specific goals. It fits into the category of organizations which Etzioni refers to as professional organizations. Professional organizations are different from private business organizations in that they are ". . . organizations whose major goal is to institutionalize knowledge and sustain its creation." Because of this uniqueness, colleges and universities should not be compared in the same context with other organizations, but they do reflect a mode of structure which resembles the order model. There is one center of "real" power and "authority," and that authority structure is usually hierarchical. Within the formal structure, however, there are substructures which possess relative basis of power, such as the faculty senate, the student association, and various other reference groups, i.e., AAUP, ACLU, IEA. Any change introduced into the university is carefully examined for possible flaws and, if appropriate, implemented.

It is perhaps safe to say that the administrative structure in higher education has followed two distinct patterns of arrangement. One is the model (conflict) derived from the medieval era where democracy was emphasized in the administrative structural arrangement, where faculty saw themselves as co-equals in the higher educational process, and where students who desired higher education sought it and had the financial resources to give them co-equal status. It also should be pointed out that these institutions, for the most part, were not financed by the state. Thus, the public's influence was minimal. The other pattern which is seen more frequently today is the pyramid or "hierarchical" (order) administrative arrangement which patterned itself after the church, the state, the army, and private business. It also brought with it the concept of a "central administrative staff."[18] This pattern emerged, perhaps, because of the interest of the public in the affairs of all of "its" institutions and also because of the notion of accountability. In this pattern, as mentioned by Ronald C. Bauer, the faculty is "neither independent nor self-governing."[19] Important decisions concerning institutional standards, policies, organization, administration, control, and external relations are usually made by administrators or a higher board consisting largely of non-academicians. "This form of institutional governance and administration places emphasis on status differences, creates a hierarchy of administrative officers, and relegates the faculty," according to Bauer, "to the role of employees who are directed by management."[20]

It would appear that Affirmative Action viewed as a tool, which must be used by colleges and universities to improve the process by which minorities and women can reasonably be expected to gain inroads into the system of higher education, could have a better chance of being implemented under the order model of structure. This form of structure has some real advantages. It immediately identifies the different organizational units to its various constituents; it clearly delineates authority; it separates functions of different officers; it makes for ease in job analysis; it provides for easy control making accountability much more accurate; through delegation of authority, faculty can and do participate in planning and decision making; and, it makes for quicker responses to public inquiry. Some disadvantages of the hierarchical or Order Model arrangement are:

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[18] This central administration usually consists of chief officials of the university, each responsible for a specific area and each chief official responsible to the president of the university. These individuals carry titles which reflect their area of authority such as Dean of Faculties, Dean of Students, Chief Business and Finance Officers, Development Officers, Director of Public Relations. The structural arrangement which accommodates this collectivity usually resembles a pyramid with the central control being at the top level of the pyramid. These persons are defined by themselves and others as "administrators" who concern themselves primarily with administration--that segment of the structure of the university which plans, organizes, budgets, coordinates, and, to a limited extent, controls.

[19] Ronald C. Bauer, *Cases in College Administration* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955), p. 16.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

1) It tends to de-emphasize the notion of the democratic process or concept of shared governance;

2) It has the real potential of relegating faculty to positions of insignificance (employees working for management);

3) It doesn't allow for student input into matters which they feel they should have input into (they see themselves as consumers buying what is for sale instead of what they really need);

4) It limits communication between the lower levels of the total organization (university) with the upper level and vice versa;

5) It emphasizes control and maintenance as opposed to productivity and free expression;

6) It lays the groundwork for the creation of a false "class" system;

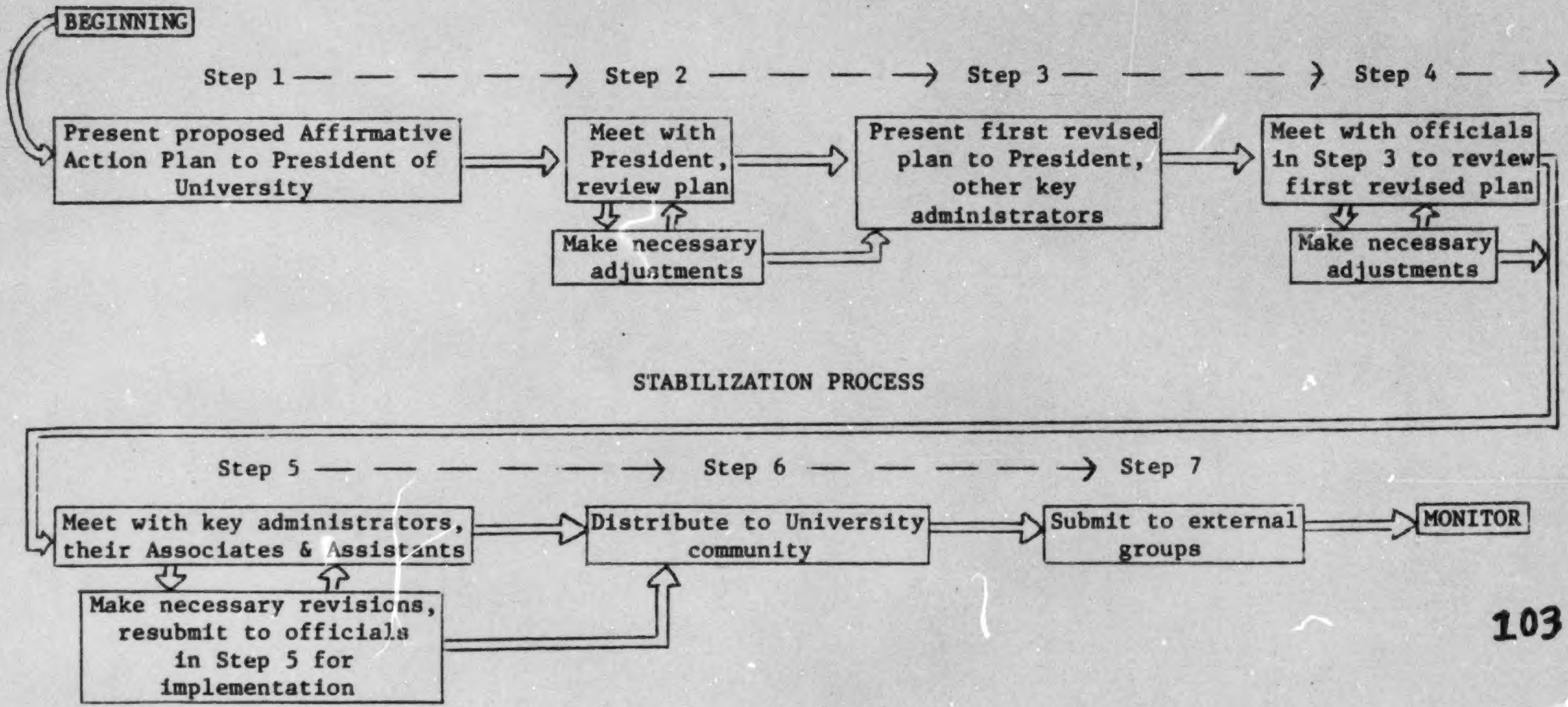
7) It encourages one-way information flow (usually from the bottom of the hierarchy to the top).

Yet with all of the seeming evils of the traditional, or Order Model, structure, it can be said that some of these "evils" have helped to sustain these institutions through many of the turbulent moments in American history. Now, since these institutions are showing definite signs of maturity, it is appropriate that they seek alternatives to their various methods of operation. New pressures, such as Affirmative Action, have forced these organizations to find new and better ways of introducing changes so that our institutions and society can continue to move toward our altruistic ideal. The Office of Civil Rights (HEW), the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, the Department of Labor, and several other federal and state regulatory agencies expect that all colleges and universities receiving federal funds will "henceforth be in compliance" with the various implementing regulations "as stated in the various Federal guidelines on Affirmative Action."

Using the Order Model, the question then becomes, "How does one incorporate the concept of Affirmative Action into the regular processes of the university to achieve maximum results?" Since Affirmative Action does require specific procedural steps which have the effect of altering regularly established procedures, Affirmative Action is viewed as innovation or change and, according to the order theorist, must be administered carefully. There must be a definite beginning; the system must have time to adjust; and once change has been introduced into the system, stabilization takes place and the new order is established. The model in Figure 3 is offered to show how the concept of Affirmative Action can be introduced into an existing structure which reflects the order orientation.

Affirmative Action, from the point of view of the conflict theorist, refers to a construct which requires growth and change on the part of the employer or university, rather than what is necessary to adjust to existing practices and hypothesized requirements for the maintenance of the

Figure 3


BEGINNING
Step 1
Step 2
Step 3
Step 4
Present proposed Affirmative Action Plan to President of University
Meet with President, review plan
Make necessary adjustments
Present first revised plan to President, other key administrators
Meet with officials in Step 3 to review first revised plan
Make necessary adjustments
STABILIZATION PROCESS
Step 5
Step 6
Step 7
Meet with key administrators, their Associates & Assistants
Make necessary revisions, resubmit to officials in Step 5 for implementation
Distribute to University community
Submit to external groups
MONITOR

existing university structure. In other words, for the conflict theorist, it would not be satisfactory to simply mend the various university policies, practices, and procedures in order to be in compliance with the various laws, orders, and regulations, but rather, all policies, practices, constitutions, bylaws, and other documents must be completely rewritten to conform to the dictates of the new order.

Orrin E. Klapp, in his book *Models of Social Order*, uses two models to distinguish between order and conflict. The first model is Karl Marx's "Dialectical Model of Social Change." The second is Charles Darwin's "Evolutionary Natural Selection Model." I shall use Marx's model (Figure 4) to illustrate the application of conflict.

Using the conflict model of change, the question to be answered is, "How does one incorporate change into the regular processes of the university to achieve maximum results?" Assuming point A to be the existing order (that is, the university does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, age, and national origin; the university recruits on the basis of best "qualified" person for the position; the university has an established evaluation procedure which promotes on the basis of achievement through merit; and the university does not subscribe to the establishment of programs designed to discriminate in any form for any purpose whether intentional or not) how does one move to point B, the desired state (that is, must do more than ensure employment neutrality with regard to race, color, religion, sex, age, and national origin; must make additional efforts to recruit, employ and promote qualified members of groups formerly excluded, even if that exclusion cannot be traced to particular discriminatory actions; must determine whether minorities are being under-utilized, under-evaluated, and under-paid; and must set specific goals and timetables designed to further employment opportunities for minorities and women)? In Marx's "Dialectical Model of Social Change" he would suggest a synthesization of the underlying values in Point A and Point B. Klapp views this approach as not being desirable because it does not allow for an integration of all possible alternatives.

Instead, Klapp views it in terms of a two-horse race in which the "winner takes all," rather than there being a range of possible winners in a "many horse race." He goes on to say that "dialectical changes tend toward extreme changes disruptive of continuity, the outcome of which is a huge gain or huge loss. . . ."[21] This is avoided in the order model.

In this section of the paper, emphasis is placed on examining the concept of Affirmative Action in terms of a well-known systems formulation--"input plus processing equals output"--in order to analyze the applicability and utility of the systems formulation (a derivative of the order model) as a means of further understanding Affirmative Action. The utilization of a systems formulation should help practitioners in: 1) conceptualizing and better understanding the nature of Affirmative Action, 2) partializing the various components into specific tasks to be performed, 3) conceptualizing the relevant corresponding professional tasks and the problems lying therein, and 4) suggesting possible

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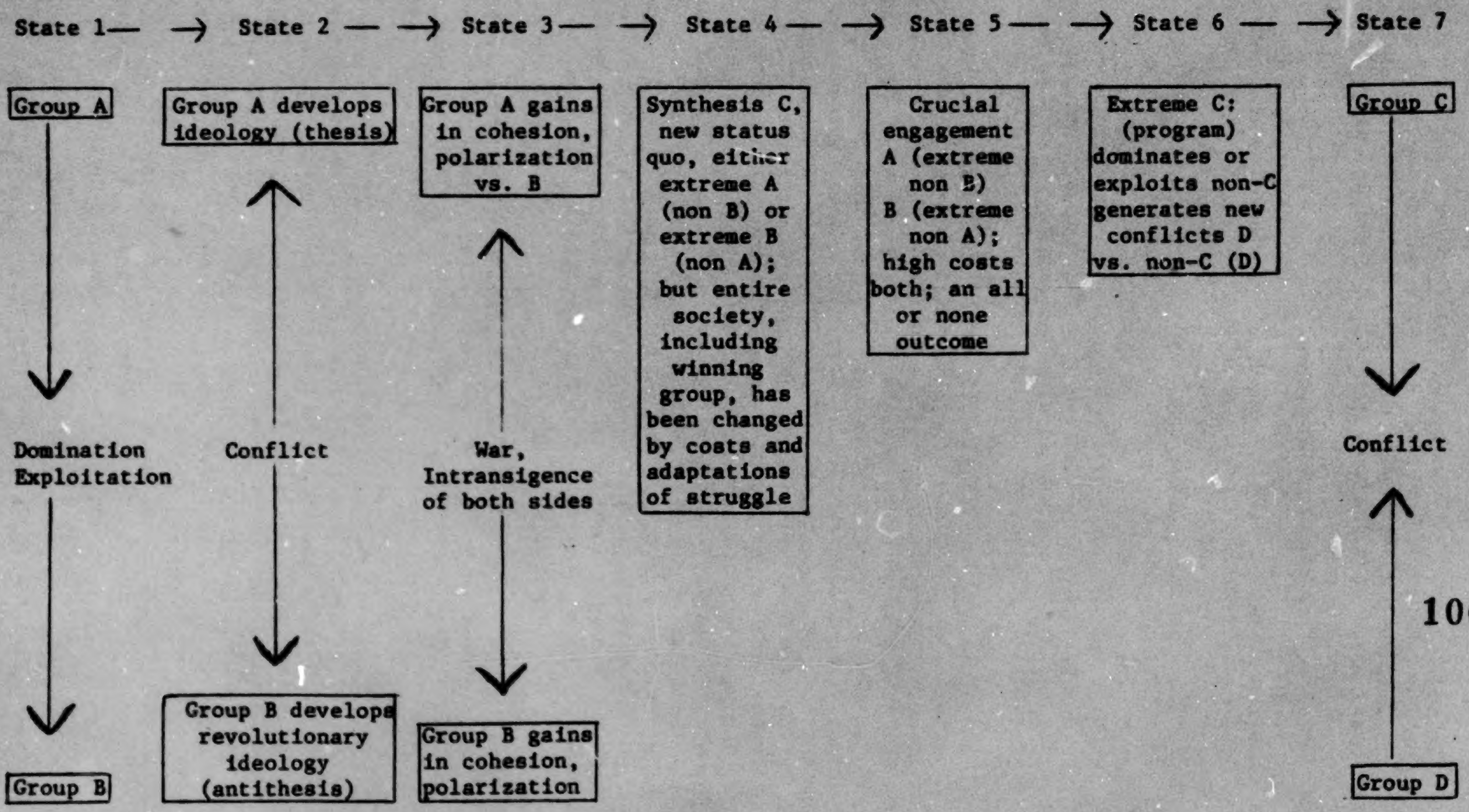
[21] Orrin E. Klapp, *Models of Social Order* (Palo Alto, California: National Press Books, 1973), pp. 228-29.

Figure 4

DIALECTICAL MODEL OF SOCIAL CHANGE


State 1
State 2
State 3
State 4
State 5
State 6
State 7
Group A
Domination Exploitation
Group B
Group A develops ideology (thesis)
Conflict
Group B develops revolutionary ideology (antithesis)
Group A gains in cohesion, polarization vs. B
War, Intransigence of both sides
Group B gains in cohesion, polarization
Synthesis C, new status quo, either extreme A (non B) or extreme B (non A); but entire society, including winning group, has been changed by costs and adaptations of struggle
Crucial engagement A (extreme non B) B (extreme non A); high costs both; an all or none outcome
Extreme C: (program) dominates or exploits non-C generates new conflicts D vs. non-C (D)
Group C
Conflict
Group D

105

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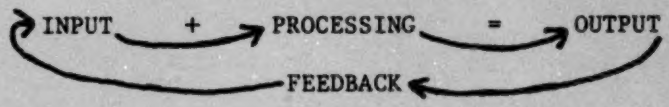
alternatives to the resolution of problems identified. In short, the systems formulation is simply, according to Leonard C. Silvern, "the structural or organization of an orderly whole, clearly showing the interrelations of the parts to each other and to the whole itself."[22] The typical systems formulation--input plus processing equals output--is a linear type progression with a feedback component which holds the system in check:



The nature of the input component simply defines what is available by way of resources and selectivity utilized to achieve Affirmative Action results. Processing outlines what the system does with the input or the processing of it. Output defines the outcome of the processing. The final component--feedback--refers to some of the consequences of the outputs which are fed back into the input and processing components to affect succeeding outputs. In short, it indicates to the system what it should do next.

Using the system formulation notion, the question then becomes "given the various resources (federal and state statutory prohibitions), what specific steps should be taken in order for the institutions of higher education to accomplish the following Affirmative Action requirements?"

1) Develop a policy statement on non-discrimination and Affirmative Action in all personnel matters and disseminate the policy both internally and externally;

2) Appoint a person to administer the institution's Affirmative Action program;

3) Examine the utilization of women and minorities in all organizational units and job classifications;

4) Identify areas of female and minority under-utilization;

5) Establish goals and objectives for elimination of under-utilization, including timetables for completion;

6) Develop and implement the Affirmative Action program designed to eliminate problems and attain established goals and objectives; and,

7) Design and implement audit and reporting systems which measure the effectiveness of the Affirmative Action program.

In order to apply the concept of Affirmative Action to the systems formulation model, I have synthesized these seven points into four points which I believe capture the essence of Affirmative Action and which appear more manageable in terms of the systems formulation model. These four points are:

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[22] Leonard C. Silvern, *Systems Engineering of Educational I: The Evolution of Systems Thinking in Education* (Los Angeles, California: Education and Training Consultants Company, 1971), p. 1.

1) Universities must do more than ensure employment neutrality;

2) Universities must make additional efforts to recruit, employ and promote minorities and women;

3) Universities must determine whether minorities and women are being under-utilized, under-evaluated, and under-paid;

4) Universities must set specific goals and timetables designed to further employment opportunities and accomplish Affirmative Action goals.

These points are viewed as resources and therefore placed in the input box, since they do represent the essence of the numerous state and federal, constitutional and statutory prohibitions against employment discrimination. The process portion of the model will outline those specific functions which are necessary in order to accomplish the goals specified under input, which we shall refer to as primary tasks. The output in this model will suggest the extent to which we have successfully processed or accomplished our primary tasks. It also may suggest what the nature of the feedback should be in terms of further action. Feedback also helps the system to regulate itself until it obtains its desired results. (See Figure 5.)

While there are numerous state and federal prohibitions against employment discrimination, only Federal Executive 11246, signed by President Johnson September 24, 1965, and subsequently amended, actually requires that Affirmative Action measures be taken. Under the provisions of the Order, any institution of higher education which contracts or subcontracts with the federal government in excess of $10,000 must agree to "not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin" and to "take affirmative action measures to ensure that applicants are employed and that employees are treated during employment" without regard to the above factors.

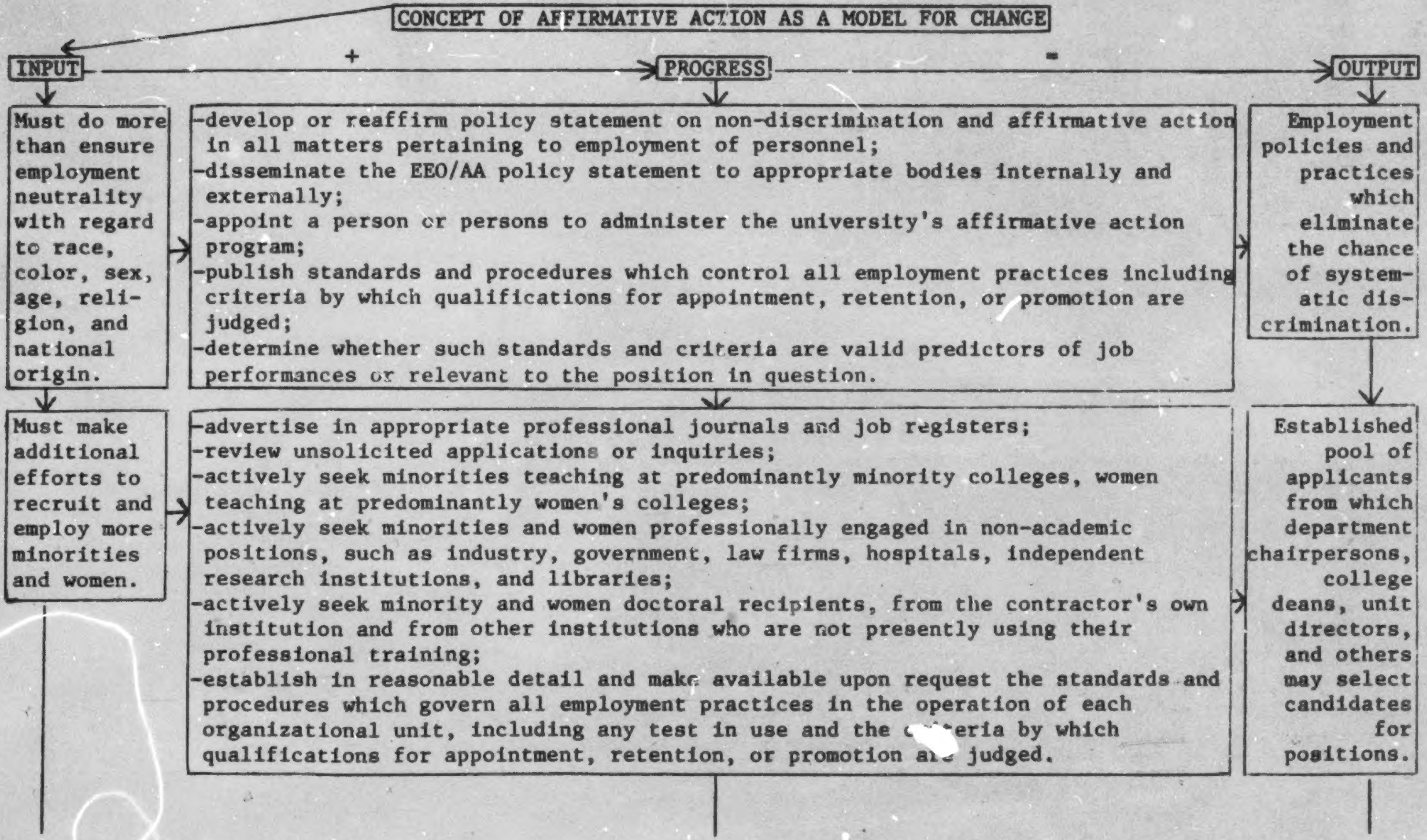
Affirmative Action is one of the most innovative programs initiated on college campuses and in industries over the past few years. As stated earlier, it was received and viewed with skepticism and mixed feeling, by some people. However, the main factor was not how Affirmative Action would be received, but rather, recognition that, from its inception, the Affirmative Action concept signified the possibility of great social change.

For the most part, Affirmative Action has progressed slowly during these initial years. This is not to imply that it has not affected changes within the social system. In many instances, change has been gradual and sometimes almost without notice.

Specific constitutional mandates assuring equality of opportunity for all persons who are citizens of the United States dates back to December 15, 1791, when the first ten amendments to the Constitution were adopted and declared to be in force. Seventy-four years later, the Congress of

Figure 5

SYSTEMS FORMULATION MODEL



Must do more than ensure employment neutrality with regard to race, color, sex, age, religion, and national origin.

- develop or reaffirm policy statement on non-discrimination and affirmative action in all matters pertaining to employment of personnel;
- disseminate the EEO/AA policy statement to appropriate bodies internally and externally;
- appoint a person or persons to administer the university's affirmative action program;
- publish standards and procedures which control all employment practices including criteria by which qualifications for appointment, retention, or promotion are judged;
- determine whether such standards and criteria are valid predictors of job performances or relevant to the position in question.

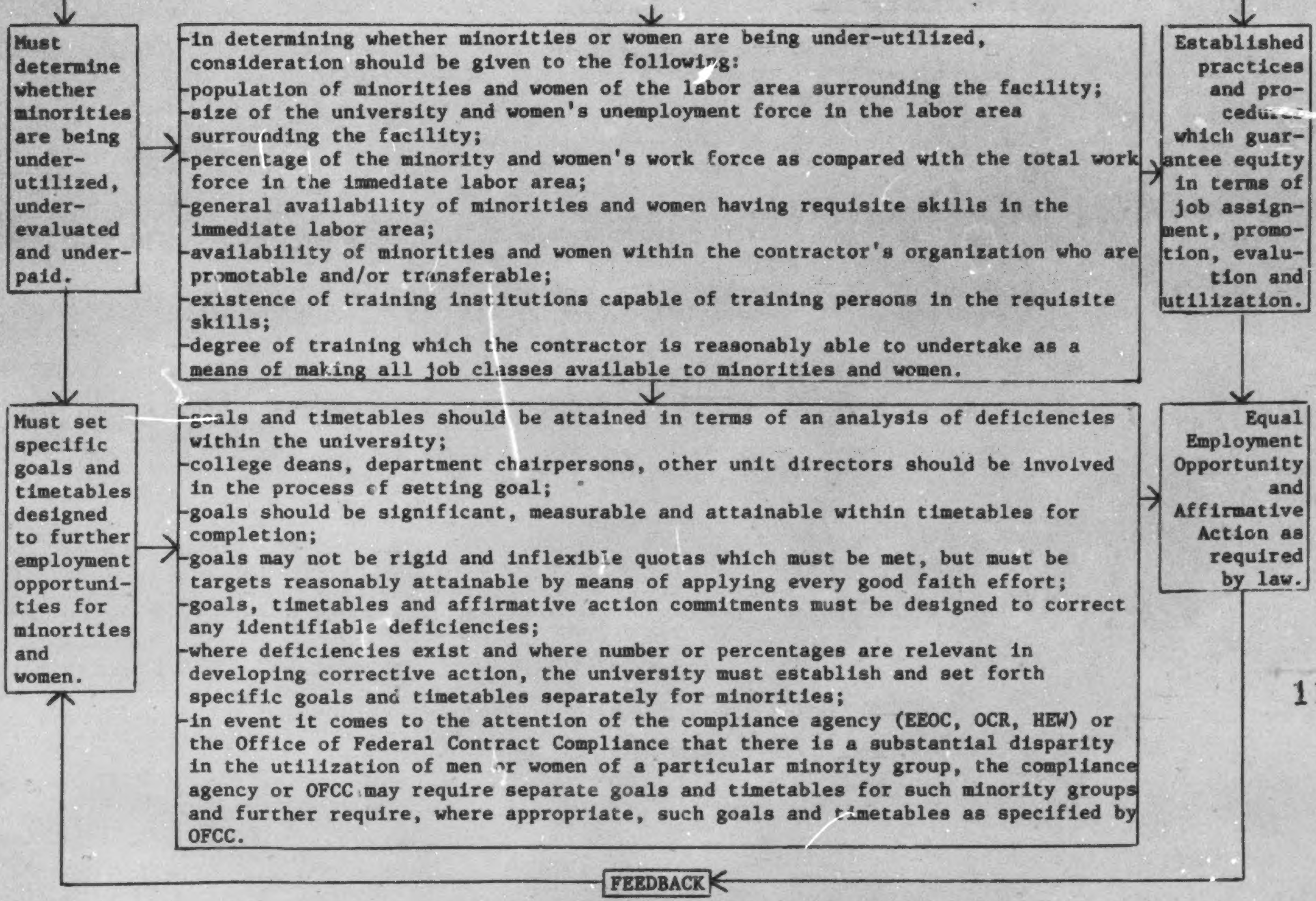
Employment policies and practices which eliminate the chance of systematic discrimination.

Must make additional efforts to recruit and employ more minorities and women.

- advertise in appropriate professional journals and job registers;
- review unsolicited applications or inquiries;
- actively seek minorities teaching at predominantly minority colleges, women teaching at predominantly women's colleges;
- actively seek minorities and women professionally engaged in non-academic positions, such as industry, government, law firms, hospitals, independent research institutions, and libraries;
- actively seek minority and women doctoral recipients, from the contractor's own institution and from other institutions who are not presently using their professional training;
- establish in reasonable detail and make available upon request the standards and procedures which govern all employment practices in the operation of each organizational unit, including any test in use and the criteria by which qualifications for appointment, retention, or promotion are judged.

Established pool of applicants from which department chairpersons, college deans, unit directors, and others may select candidates for positions.

Figure 5 (Contd.)



Must determine whether minorities are being under-utilized, under-evaluated and under-paid.

- in determining whether minorities or women are being under-utilized, consideration should be given to the following:
- population of minorities and women of the labor area surrounding the facility;
- size of the university and women's unemployment force in the labor area surrounding the facility;
- percentage of the minority and women's work force as compared with the total work force in the immediate labor area;
- general availability of minorities and women having requisite skills in the immediate labor area;
- availability of minorities and women within the contractor's organization who are promotable and/or transferable;
- existence of training institutions capable of training persons in the requisite skills;
- degree of training which the contractor is reasonably able to undertake as a means of making all job classes available to minorities and women.

Established practices and procedures which guarantee equity in terms of job assignment, promotion, evaluation and utilization.

Must set specific goals and timetables designed to further employment opportunities for minorities and women.

- goals and timetables should be attained in terms of an analysis of deficiencies within the university;
- college deans, department chairpersons, other unit directors should be involved in the process of setting goal;
- goals should be significant, measurable and attainable within timetables for completion;
- goals may not be rigid and inflexible quotas which must be met, but must be targets reasonably attainable by means of applying every good faith effort;
- goals, timetables and affirmative action commitments must be designed to correct any identifiable deficiencies;
- where deficiencies exist and where number or percentages are relevant in developing corrective action, the university must establish and set forth specific goals and timetables separately for minorities;
- in event it comes to the attention of the compliance agency (EEOC, OCR, HEW) or the Office of Federal Contract Compliance that there is a substantial disparity in the utilization of men or women of a particular minority group, the compliance agency or OFCC may require separate goals and timetables for such minority groups and further require, where appropriate, such goals and timetables as specified by OFCC.

Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action as required by law.

the Unites States again spoke in defense of equality of opportunity when on December 18, 1865, Article XIII was declared in force. The Thirteenth Amendment provided that: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The notion of equal opportunity was again addressed in 1868 with Article XIV which declared that, "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . , nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law"; in 1870, with Article XV, which guaranteed equal rights; in 1920, with Article XIX, which declared in force the opportunity for women to vote; more recently the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with its various titles; the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which amended the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938; Executive Order 11246 as amended by EO 11375 and Revised Order #4; Educational Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Title VII of the Public Health Service Act as amended by the Comprehensive Health Manpower Act and the Nurse Training Amendment Act of 1971; and finally the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 which is designed to provide employment opportunities for qualified physically and mentally handicapped individuals and to eliminate employment discrimination based on physical or mental handicaps.

The concept of Affirmative Action emerged as a result of Executive Order 11246, Executive Order 11375, and Revised Order #4. Two concepts embody these orders. They are: 1) non-discrimination, and 2) Affirmative Action. Where agencies are found to be in non-compliance with these executive orders, they must file a plan with a particular agency of the federal government showing what corrective measures they will take in order to rectify their status of non-compliance. Agencies doing business with the federal government must file a plan of action which the employing agency will use in order to assure that minorities and women receive equal opportunity.

The concept of Affirmative Action is viewed here as a potentially effective tool of the federal government to end discrimination solely on the basis of one's race or sex. However, history has taught us that black Americans, in particular, and all other minority groups, in general (women included), will continue to be the "floormat of the world" until such times as this group of Americans, the affected class, are in positions of authority and responsibility where they are able to participate fully in those decision making processes which shape the nation and ultimately the world. It so happens that the particular social structure which America has accepted and believes in is based on two concepts: 1) shared governance, and 2) private enterprise. It is possible that these two philosophical and altruistic notions could be found to be mutually exclusive and thus ineffective in protecting the individual rights of specific groups in the society, particularly when one group is numerically dominant and controls the key which the other groups must depend on for their survival.

Perhaps this is what Thomas Tredwell had in mind when, in presenting his argument against the Constitution in June-July of 1788 at the New York

Constitutional Convention, when he stated that:

> In this Constitution, sir, we have departed widely from the principles and political faith of '76, when the spirit of liberty ran high, and danger put a curb on ambition. Here we find no security for the existence of our state governments; here is no bill of rights, no proper restriction of power; our lives, our property, and our consciences, are left wholly at the mercy of the legislature, and the powers of the judiciary may be extended to any degree short of the almighty. . . .[23]

Almost no one will argue that the concept of "one man/woman--one vote" is not, on the surface, an admirable ideal. Most people believe that it is the best appearing political structure, one which assures that each citizen with appropriate qualifications has the opportunity of redressing his/her discontent. Representative government should reflect the values, beliefs, interests, needs, and perhaps perceptions of the people who the elected representatives are committed to serve. The communication media should be able to effectively serve as "watchdog for the people" as it claims to do. Communications is a vital process which, in essence, keeps participatory governance alive. The structure of our present governmental system should be established so that it can respond to the wishes of the people, so long as the wishes reflect the values, beliefs, interests, needs, and perceptions of all of the people. However, none of this appears to work adequately. If the Constitution of the United States of America was operative per the ideals of the authors of it, one doubts that it would be necessary in the 1970's to still be encumbered by such executive orders and statutory regulations and additional amendments requiring programs such as Affirmative Action.

Affirmative Action for minorities can be little more than another "dream deferred." Already, we see signs of the majority group in power exercising all of its intellectual, political, and perhaps militarist force to delete, dilute, and dissolve any kind of program or policy which it feels is a threat to its livelihood. One can argue that it is human nature to survive and to defend oneself against all manner and matter considered threatening. Perhaps it is true that self-preservation is the first law of nature, yet even one of the lowest of all forms of animal, the snake, attacks only when in clear and present danger. No evidence has come forth in this country which persuades many people to believe that white America is on the verge of attack from its fellow minority group members. Accordingly, its defensive posture regarding the combined concepts of equal opportunity and Affirmative Action are unjust and unnecessary.

In tracing the history of the continuing development of the United States Constitution, these most recent orders appear to be setting forth a methodology which will enable us to measure the degrees to which all agencies receiving federal funds are actually complying with the "Law of the Land." If the analysis of Affirmative Action as a model for social change has any value, it allows for the following observations:

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[23] Saul K. Padover, *The Living U.S. Constitution* (New York: The New American Library, 1963), pp. 28-29.

1) Affirmative Action is a tool which, if applied appropriately, has the potential for bringing consensus in terms of matching needs of individuals, groups, and institutions, with goals and values deemed necessary for all citizens to live life in accordance with the intent of the framers of the Constitution.

2) There is a dearth of moral and perhaps spiritual leadership in this country which impedes progress toward our quest to realize the attributes of egalitarianism. However, it is felt inroads can be made with well-developed Affirmative Action programs (presented in keeping with the order theory of sociological thought).

3) Colleges and universities must not fall prey to the politics of equality of opportunity. Chief executives of these institutions must become aggressive protagonists of equality of opportunity in order to accomplish the goals of Affirmative Action.

4) In times of economic strains, minorities and women must not be misled into believing that Affirmative Action is only a "Dream Deferred."

Finally, since it appears that strong moral leadership from our academic leaders is of vital importance in accomplishing the goals of Affirmative Action, it seems appropriate to conclude this paper on a moral note. Accordingly:

> He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and
> he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and
> he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and
> he that is holy, let him be holy still.
> And, behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me,
> to give every man according as his work shall be.
> -- *Revelations*, Chap. 22:11.12

PART III

LITERARY PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

Literature, both fiction and non-fiction, offers a rich lode of opportunity for research in minority cultures. Gerald Greenfield's essay on elementary and junior high school texts concerning Latin America illustrates the gross distortions of that people's history. Since a Chicano or Rican child will see images of his or her cultural heritage and identity in such texts, their authors have a responsibility to provide greater, more accurate, objective, and unbiased treatment of Latin Americans. Written from an ethnocentric and patriotic viewpoint, the texts stress United States superiority and Latin American inferiority, which must have a detrimental effect on Puerto Rican and Chicano children.

David Robinson's analysis of Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* emphasizes the novel's vision and articulation. A work that probes estrangement and alienation from two cultures, Robinson stresses Momaday's effort to develop the mythic and classical struggle, one that, comparable to Faulkner's efforts, reaffirms the integrity of the human spirit.

Tracing the emergence of the Chicano novel, Marvin Lewis discovers four recurrent themes common to most authors of this recent fiction: an identification with the Indian past, a critical attitude toward American society, an emphasis on the exploitation of farm laborers, and an exploration of barrio life. Lewis suggests that the most satisfactory and complex synthesis of these themes is found in Miguel Mendez M's *Peregrinos de Aztlán*, which is the most artistic and complete exploration of the realities of Chicano existence.

Yvette Miller concentrates on two of those recent novels: Tomás Rivera's . . . *and the earth did not part* and Raymond Barrio's *The Plum Plum Pickers*. She sees Rivera's work as a protest of a cruel and somber world and Barrio's as a stark, detailed mirror of reality. While they each stress different elements of a unique and repressive social system, neither portrays total despair but offers threads of hope in their characters' assertions of their humanity.

Raymond Barrio's *The Plum Plum Pickers* is subjected to more careful scrutiny in Vernon Lattin's essay. Lattin's analysis emphasizes Barrio's literary symbolism in dissecting the persistence and oppression of a migrant worker's society. Lattin believes that Barrio has stripped away the mask of benevolent capitalism and its claims to paradise to expose the face of a system that neither respects, nor even recognizes, the dignity of the human spirit.

- JAMES R. PARKER

LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN: CHICANOS AND PUERTO RICANS.
THE PORTRAYAL OF LATIN AMERICA IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS

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Inadequate and biased treatment of minority groups in public school textbooks has long aroused adverse commentary. A 1949 study of secondary school texts by the American Council on Education discovered serious shortcomings in their portrayal of America's ethnic minorities.[1] Follow-up studies conducted under the auspices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in 1961 and 1970 indicated that stereotyped and unbalanced treatment of such groups remained very much a feature of leading school texts. The 1970 study concluded that, "a significant number of texts . . . continue to present a principally white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of America's past and present, while the nature and problems of minority groups are largely neglected."[2] The pioneering *Dick and Jane as Victims*[3] helped initiate a wave of research which demonstrated that women, too, have received stereotyped treatment in children's literature.

The protests of concerned minority groups and women have not gone unheeded. Newly sensitized publishing companies have begun to issue readers and texts which feature fewer of the old clichés. The jungles of Africa have receded (along with the lions and gorillas, which presumably had formed the African's constant companions) to be replaced by the glories of the old empires of the Western Sudan and the exciting face of change in modern Africa. Children of different ethnic groups have begun peopling their pages, thereby reducing the prominence of the all-white blonde prototype which long had reigned as the supposed American ideal. And women have started to leave their kitchens.

But these encouraging signs of progress have not extended to the textual treatment of all minorities. One increasingly important ethnic group--Americans with Spanish surnames--still has not benefited from this rising awareness of the true meaning and implications of cultural pluralism. Indeed, an analysis of five major series of elementary social studies texts--*Investigating Man's World* (Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970), *Holt Databank System* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), *Exploring the Social Sciences* (American Book Company, 1971), *Follett Social Studies Series--Exploring* (Follett Educational Corporation, 1971), and *Our Working World* (Science Research Associates, 1973), indicates that Chicanos and Puerto Ricans receive inadequate coverage. What is worse, the specific homelands of these groups and the general area from which their heritage and identification comes are presented in a largely pejorative fashion. In brief, textual discussions of Latin America require a complete reorientation.

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[1] American Council on Education, Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations, *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949). See especially pp. 26-34, "general criteria and conclusions."

[2] Michael B. Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), p. 138.

[3] Woman on Words and Images, a task force of the Central New Jersey Chapter of the National Organization of Women (Princeton, New Jersey, 1971).

Discussions of other lands and cultures--"education for international understanding"--never has been a strength for American social studies texts. As one curriculum expert observed:

> Among the varied facets of social studies, none seems to have greater import yet such limited success as does teaching about other cultures and international affairs. . . . instruction seems to remain considerably ethnocentric, nationalistic, and at times even militaristic.[4]

In fairness, it must be acknowledged that international education poses a problem in that it may conflict with a basic goal of all social studies education: inculcating patriotism or love of country. There is, of course, a natural temptation to accomplish this latter objective by illustrating the superiority of one's own values and way of life. For any nation, then, the line between legitimate patriotism and unthinking chauvinism may be difficult to maintain. In the United States, this problem becomes still greater. In view of this nation's economic and technological position, comparisons with other lands easily--without conscious effort--can prove invidious. The danger becomes especially great when discussing areas like Latin America, which belong to the "developing" or "less-developed" portions of the world. Indeed, those very titles suggest that such areas are striving toward a status which we already have attained.

Ideally, international education "is based on objective analysis and is designed to help the students see the similarities and differences between world peoples rather than their eccentricities."[5] Unfortunately, there is in many United States texts a suggestion--sometimes implied, sometimes blatant--that our nation's development may properly be attributed to the good features of its political system, the inherent wisdom and virtues of its population, and God's benign approval, rather than to more neutral factors like geographic position, supply of natural resources, or historical events unrelated to concepts of good and evil. With development as a proof of superiority, underdevelopment logically emerges as clear evidence of a general inferiority or some failure in national character or will.

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[4] Jonathon C. McLendon, William W. Joyce, and John R. Lee, eds., *Readings in Elementary Social Studies: Emerging Changes*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970), p. 242.

[5] William C. Crowder, *Persistent Problems Approach to Elementary Social Studies* (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1973), p. 220.

For this reason, then, social studies texts must exercise great caution in their treatment of the Third World, so that underdevelopment carries no moral stigma and lack of economic or technological stature does not imply any inferiority in culture. And with regard specifically to Latin America, texts must be especially wary of a certain pervasive anti-Spanish bias which has been a prominent feature in our history. Spain, after all, stood as a hated enemy during much of our colonial period, and to "singe the Spaniard's beard" formed an applauded pastime for a succession of British buccaneers. Then, too, Spain, along with her extensions in the New World, held territory coveted--and eventually captured--by the United States in the course of continental and imperial expansion.

The texts analyzed here fail to employ any such caution. In general, they perpetuate myths and reinforce stereotypes. They show a propensity for the exotic and draw any number of invidious comparisons between conditions in the United States and Latin America. The remainder of this paper illustrates these unfortunate practices with regard to four categories: anti-Spanish bias, general discussions of Latin America, portrayal of Mexico, and treatment of Puerto Rico.

Anti-Spanish Bias

Some scholars of colonial Latin America have identified a body of anti-Spanish thought--which they named the "Black Legend"--whose key points include denunciations of Spain's tradition of authoritarian government, fanatical intolerance, extreme cruelty in the American conquests, and enslaving the Indians and working them to death.[6] While historians still argue whether the legend is myth or fact, for the textbooks no controversy exists. They present as fact this entire body of anti-Spanish thought.

Regions of the United States explains the role of Spanish missionaries in California: "The Spanish missionaries often treated the Indians cruelly. They were forced to do most of the work."[7] A later book from this same series reinforces earlier learning: "The Spaniards killed thousands of Indians as they conquered lands in the Americas. They made slaves of thousands more."[8] By contrast, says this same source: "But the French treated the Indians in a kindly way. They were not often cruel to them, as the Spaniards were."[9] *Exploring Regions of Latin America and*

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[6] The Legend's other features include charges of decadence, political corruption, and indolence. See Charles Gibson, ed., *The Black Legend* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

[7] *Regions of the United States* (Science Research Associates), p. 188.

[8] *The American Way of Life*, p. 24.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Canada reports that Spain did pass a law prohibiting Indian slavery, but, nonetheless, "most Indians became little more than slaves in the fields and mines of their new masters. Many Indians could not stand the hard life and died in the early years of colonization."[10] And *Asking About the U.S.A. and Its Neighbors* agrees: "Spain ran her new empire harshly. Indians were usually enslaved, and many were worked to death in the gold and silver mines."[11] Again the French emerge as saints: "Many of the most daring French explorers were Catholic priests who came to the New World to persuade Indians to become Christians. They treated the Indians kindly and with respect."[12] Of course, the book chooses to ignore the fact that this very same line could well have described many Spanish missionaries; then, to make certain that students fully internalize the peculiar evil of Spaniards, a review question asks, "How did their [French] ways in the New World differ from Spanish ways?"[13] Finally, *Inter-American Studies* remarks: "Proud Indians who had once ruled the land became the servants and slaves of their conquerors. Many Indians died from the harsh treatment they received."[14] Several of the books also reaffirm the intolerance of Spaniards who destroyed the beautiful Indian civilizations, and one particularly scourges the great Zumárraga who burned the Aztec books which he could not read, but in which he saw the work of the devil.[15]

Enslavement of Indians by Spaniards was indeed a fact, as was harsh treatment and exploitation.[16] Minimizing these abuses would torture the historical record. But maximizing them and postulating them as peculiarly Spanish does even greater damage to the facts. Epidemic disease, rather than hard work, proved the major cause of Indian depopulation. Spanish priests, especially during the early conquest years, tried to prevent settler maltreatment of Indians. In fact, it was a Spanish friar, Bartolomé de las Casas, who issued the most far-reaching denunciations of the colonists' exploitive practices.[17] While present-day anthropological notions of cultural relativism reveal the actions of Spanish missionaries as misguided, many of the friars acted in accord with the best tenets of their own time. Furthermore, while Americans generally looked upon Indians as being hopeless savages, Papal Bull, and official Spanish policy, declared that the Indians were rational men fully capable of receiving the gospel. There is no need to construct an elaborate apology for Spanish treatment of the Indians, and one would not expect the texts to do so. However, a degree of balance would be welcome, for example, a structural framework for such discussions which would view Spanish activities--along with those of the British and French--as examples of a phenomenon common to colonization rather than as the excesses peculiar to a depraved people.

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[10] *Exploring Regions of Latin America and Canada* (Follett Educational Corporation), p. 86.

[11] *Asking About the U.S.A. and Its Neighbors* (American Book Company), p. 23.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[13] *Ibid.* A chapter review (p. 27) also asks students to compare French and Spanish explorers.

[14] *Inter-American Studies* (Scott, Foresman and Company), p. 223.

[15] *Regions of Latin America*, p. 110. Ironically, Zumárraga (the first Bishop and Archbishop of colonial Mexico) was known as the "Protector of the Indians." He decried Indian despoilations by the tyrant Nuño de Guzmán and established schools for Indian boys. Moreover, his role in the book burning is not an established fact. See Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos*, 4th ed. rev. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 43-44.

[16] For excellent analyses of the impact of conquest and colonial society on Indian existence, see Eric Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), and Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

General Treatment of Latin America

Inadequate coverage and lack of balance characterizes the texts' discussions of Latin America. Three series--Follett; Scott, Foresman; and American Book Company--devote entire books to studies of the Western Hemisphere. A lengthy discussion of Latin America appears as part of one Science Research Associates (SRA) text; Holt does not discuss the region as a whole, but does include Latin American examples throughout the series. Latin American units, however, tend to be taught in either the fifth or sixth grades, and it is with surprise that one notes how little information students receive prior to those grades. In four of the series, first graders are exposed to a foreign area, but only in one is the example a Latin American nation. *Exploring with Friends* (Follett) has a concluding unit on Japan. The merits of Japan also emerge in the American Book Company's first grade book, *Living in America*, while the Holt series grade one book, *Inquiring About People*, includes selections on families in Japan, Germany, Kenya, Borneo, and Norway. Only Scott, Foresman fails to succumb to the lure of the Orient. Instead, *Family Studies* has a unit on Mexico.

At succeeding grade levels, prior to more comprehensive studies of Latin America, the texts do take some notice of "our neighbors to the south." Students read about "Pimwe, Boy of the Rain Forest";[18] a poor rural Mexican family;[19] "The Yanamamo of Amazonia: A Jungle Tribe"; and the Brazilian town of Minas Velhas.[20] To balance this emphasis on the exotic or the underdeveloped we find only sections on Brasilia[21] and São Paulo.[22] Unfortunately, the unit on São Paulo communicates a largely negative picture of Latin America's greatest industrial center. Titled, "São Paulo, Brazil: The Poor and the Rich," it begins with a picture of a slum and informs the children: "Almost no one wants to be poor. But sometimes there is no other choice. In many countries such as Brazil and India, it is very hard to move up the ladder."[23] Most of the unit concerns the story of Serafina and Paulo. Serafina lives in a slum. She is barefoot, cannot afford to buy shoes for her children, and never went to school. She had worked as a maid for some rich people, but had been fired because she did not know how to cope with the complexities of keeping a modern house. Paulo, by contrast, is a young boy who belongs to the very family which had fired Serafina. When he sees her walking down the street, he notes how tired and poor she looks. But then his thoughts quickly turn to other matters: "Paulo and his cousins started talking about surfing and skin diving. Paulo forgot all about Serafina."[24]

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[17] For a discussion of Las Casas' career and the development of the Spanish Crown's Indian policy, see Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1965).

[18] *Exploring Regions Near and Far* (Follett Educational Corporation).

[19] *Exploring Our Needs* (Follett Educational Corporation).

[20] *Inquiring About Cultures* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).

This story typifies the orientation toward Latin America displayed by most of the texts. They emphasize unredeeming and squalid aspects of the social system--the plight of underdevelopment and the underdeveloped. The word "problem" appears with monotonous regularity. Whenever "modern" aspects of life are considered, negative points accompany them. Sections on cities are incomplete without stories of slums, and when technological change or economic growth occurs, it is either inadequate or creates further problems. Thus, Follett's *Exploring Regions of Latin America and Canada* suggests three important themes to stress in studying Latin America: the effects of dependence on one resource and the dangers of heavy reliance on a nonrenewable resource--both negative--and the influence of foreign nations in the development of natural resources--not surprisingly, largely positive.[25] Thus we have Latin America, a region in deep trouble, but one which may be helped by benevolent outsiders.

In their introduction to the study of South America, the authors of *Exploring Regions of Latin America and Canada* list several misconceptions that students may have concerning the area, including the notion that all South Americans live in scattered rural villages and that most of South America is jungle. It attributes the currency of such ideas to "story books, television advertisement, or exciting travelogs that have not always stuck to the facts."[26] Ironically, precisely these impressions could easily have been gleaned from earlier books in the series. Incredibly, the very first pages in the unit present a "Report on a Journey in a Rain Forest," replete with pictures of Indians in dugout canoes and stilt houses along the Orinoco River.[27] The madness continues with the following section, "Uplands and Mountain Valleys of the Andes," with topics titled, "The Rural Scene," informing students that "thousands of Indians and mestizos live in little mountain villages," and a "Report on a Journey to a Mountain Village."[28] When at last attention turns to "Urban Centers in the Andes Mountains," the very first item is "A South American Shantytown."[29] The book then observes, "If there were enough space in this book we might print reports from visitors who have visited beautiful modern and historic sections of many highland cities."[30] Would it be unfair to suggest that, with fewer pages devoted to rain forests, villages, and shantytowns, sufficient space for these wonders might have been available?

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[21] *Exploring World Communities* (Follett Educational Corporation).

[22] *Inquiring About Cultures.*

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 241

[25] *Regions of Latin America*, TG 51.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201.

To be sure, the unit does report some nice things about the cities of Caracas and Quito, but the descriptions lack the force and emotional clout of the shantytown and rain forest narratives. The ensuing unit on Peru, Bolivia, and Chile repeats the unbalanced emphasis on negative aspects of the Latin American experience. After indicating several serious problems which bedevil the three nations, the book concludes, "Although recent years have given more of the people a share in their nation's wealth, many people are still very poor."[31] In the ensuing unit on Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, this emphasis continues, for the introduction admonishes the students, "As you study these countries, look for other problems that are common to all of Latin America."[32]

Asking About the U.S.A. and Its Neighbors also leaves little doubt about the status of Latin America and the implications of underdevelopment. "There are many places in the world where people do not have enough food or clothes, where few people can read or write, where some people do not have any place to live except the street."[33] *Regions of the World* presents a similarly dismal portrait in its unit on "Economic Regions of the World." If the title of the Latin American section--"Latin America: A Problem Region"--leaves any room for doubt, the discussion does not. "Amid great riches there was great poverty. There were plains as fertile as Nebraska's. There were hills as rich in minerals as those of Minnesota. Yet in 1971 each person had an average yearly income of $500. In the United States, the average income was about $4,000."[34]

Further contrasts emerge. The United States, we are told, spends great sums on research and, therefore, in many ways "pushes back the frontiers of knowledge. Latin America, however, cannot afford to spend such sums."[35] Logic, then, demands the conclusion that Latin America does not contribute to the search for knowledge. But is there any hope for the future? Apparently, very little. The section titled "Efforts to Improve" mentions some successes in bettering means of transportation and in raising salaries, but warns "higher salaries in Latin America don't always mean that people have a better life. Prices go up too. The only way to avoid the problem is for factories to increase their production. *But this is not likely to happen*."[36] To end this gloomy portrait, there is a series of picture drawings entitled, "Profile of a Poor Region: Latin America."[37]

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[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 204-206.

[29] *Ibid.* p. 207.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[33] *Asking About the U.S.A.*, pp. 248-49.

[34] *Regions of the World* (Science Research Associates), p. 315.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 324.

Only *Inter-American Studies* includes progress along with problems. For the rest, solutions form but a marginal part of the Latin American story. As is the case with Spanish treatment of the Indians, one should not ignore the economic difficulties which confront Latin America. Indeed, there are massive problems, and not all of the area's nations can feel comfortable about the future. Nonetheless, several of the region's nations--Mexico, Brazil, and Venezuela are perhaps the best examples--have achieved considerable progress. More important, the texts' emphasis on underdevelopment constitutes a very narrow view of a multi-faceted reality. In these sad and sombre portraits, one looks in vain for the richness of Latin American culture and the great inner strength, dignity, and pulsating vibrancy of its peoples. Should we teach Chicanos and Puerto Ricans that their heritage is comprised only of underdevelopment and despair?

Portrayal of Mexico

It should come as no surprise that the treatment given to Mexico displays the same defects which mar the general discussions of Latin America. Not all of the texts even discuss Mexico in any detail. The Holt series, save for a section on the conquest of the Aztecs,[38] offers nothing on Mexico until its sixth grade book, *Inquiring about Technology*, where it presents a unit entitled, "Change in the World Today," which focuses on village Mexico, the town of Tepoztlan, but includes a brief overview of Mexican history. SRA offers even less coverage. Mexico is seen only as the nation defeated by the United States in war[39] and in the abysmal "Latin America: A Problem Region." The omission remains a puzzle since Mexico might easily have been included in other books of the series, for example, in *Cities*, which draws examples from virtually every area except Latin America.[40]

The American Book Company also misses opportunities for early grade introduction to Mexico. Thus, in the first three grades, there are units on Japan, Greece, and Africa (though children do learn of the Mexican War whose causation emerges as "American settlers did not want to be ruled by

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 326-27, my italics. [37] *Ibid.*, pp. 328-30.

[38] In *Inquiring About American History* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).

[39] *Regions of the World*, p. 217.

[40] *Cities* (Science Research Associates) includes selections on Athens, Peking, Calcutta, Singapore, London, Nairobi, Rotterdam, Edmonton, and Calgary.

Mexico").[41] Its fourth grade book, *Investigating Communities and Cultures*, discusses the Maya, but never effectively makes the point that modern Mexico is heir to this great tradition. There is also a picture of a piñata party,[42] and an exercise in which children are asked to compare their own mode of dress with that of Mexicans.[43] One book in the series, *Asking About the U.S.A. and Its Neighbors*, does contain a unit on Mexico. Unhappily, much of it concentrates on Indian exploitation during the colonial period and simplistic presentations of important events like the Texas question, Mexican War, and Wilsonian intervention during the Mexican Revolution. Curiously, when discussing these matters, the book displays a fine capacity for neutrality and the avoidance of value judgments which is sadly lacking when it treats purely Latin American affairs. And, most unfortunate, in a chapter on Modern Mexico, it completely ignores the most salient features of the new national consciousness: repudiation of any dependence on foreigners--particularly the United States--and a rediscovery and glorification of the indigenous past. This chapter also tends to create some false impressions. It seems to say that Mexico City is the nation's only modern urban center. And, of the pictures scattered throughout its pages, only two show modern aspects of Mexico, while six present either obviously poor Indian people or rural dwellers living in bad conditions.

Scott, Foresman and Follett allot Mexico considerable coverage. There the similarity ends. The former provides a far more balanced and sympathetic portrayal than Follett. *Family Studies* has the only first grade unit on Mexico. Its tone remains positive, and its comparisons with the United States emphasize similarities. Pictures in the unit show a nice mix of the modern and the traditional. A discussion of illiteracy in Mexico reveals a deft touch. A picture of a young girl helping her grandfather learn how to read carries the following explanation: The grandfather did not learn how to read as a boy since no schools existed in his neighborhood. "Now there are schools in many neighborhoods. The grandfather is learning to read. Elena goes to school. She is helping her grandfather learn to read." The unit then concludes with a question: "How is Mexico Changing?"[44]

Follett's series has a unit on Mexico in its second grade book, *Exploring Our Needs*. But, "Living in Mexico" makes no attempt to discuss modern or progressive aspects of the nation. The teacher's edition explains: "This unit is a dramatic narrative about a single rural Mexican family."[45] In terms of skills, the unit is designed to emphasize comparing and contrasting.[46] Since the book illustrates the most technologically backward and impoverished aspects of Mexican life, all comparisons would naturally rebound to Mexico's discredit. The narrative centers on Juan Mendez and his family. Young Juan's favorite companion is, of course, his burro. To be sure, the dramatic emphasis does revolve around the departure and return of Juan's older brother, Luis, who is going off to Monterrey to learn how to make steel, yet most of the story details living conditions in the village.

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[41] *Comparing Ways and Means* (American Book Company), p. 52.

[42] *Investigating Communities and Cultures* (American Book Company), p. 5.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[44] *Family Studies* (Scott, Foresman and Company), p. 157.

[45] *Exploring Our Needs*, p. 3.

Juan's family lives in a one room adobe house with a packed earth floor. The children sleep on straw mats placed on the floor, although the parents do have a bed. Except for Luis, the family wears traditional dress and goes barefoot or uses *huaraches* (sandals). Mother spends the entire day making hundreds of *tortillas*. She also makes clothes for the family. Everyone walks to the fields and market, unless they ride on a burro. The only modern feature in the village is a new school. When Luis returns, he tells about the miracles in his aunt's house in Monterrey. It has five rooms, electricity, and, most impressive, "water came from the wall if you just turned a handle."[47] The teacher's edition explains that this last refers to a water faucet "which Luis' family would find unfamiliar."[48]

How accurate is this portrayal of rural life? Writing in 1959 about the impact of economic progress in Mexico, Oscar Lewis observed:

> More and more rural people sleep in beds instead of on the ground, wear shoes instead of *huaraches* or instead of going barefoot, use store-bought pants instead of homemade white *calzones*, eat bread in addition to *tortillas* . . . and travel by bus or train instead of on foot or by burro.[49]

Why, then, does the unit describe a way of life that is disappearing?

In *Inter-American Studies*, the upbeat tone of the series' first grade book continues. While acknowledging that modern Mexico remains a land "in which there is much poverty"[50] and that despite economic growth there still are not enough jobs, it nonetheless manages a valid positive judgment: "Mexico is moving away from having a very poor and backward way of life."[51] The book does not pretend that all is well. It remarks that, compared to Canada and the United States, Mexico still "has a long way to go in economic growth."[52] Nonetheless, due to an emphasis on change and progress, Mexico comes across as an active nation, one which has problems, but is making progress toward their solution.

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[46] "The unit on village life in Mexico . . . requires a comparison with life in our own culture." *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Oscar Lewis, *Five Families* (New York: Basic Books, 1959), p. 7.

[50] *Inter-American Studies*, p. 127.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[52] *Ibid.*

The Mexican unit in Follett's *Exploring Regions of Latin America and Canada* represents a great improvement over the series' earlier effort. Its first page stresses positive accomplishments and remarks, "Out of the struggles of the past has come a great, growing nation."[53] The unit employs favorable section titles such as, "More Farmland for Mexico's Families" and "More Jobs for Mexico's Population." There is a "Picture Story About Mexico's Many Industries."[54] The concluding section, "Mexico--Past and Future" observes:

> Mexico seems to be entering a period when the people may profit from reforms introduced by good leaders. Land reform, new public health measures, and more education are all signs that point to a better life. There are, of course, many problems still to be faced; better methods of agriculture and more industries are goals which must be reached in the future.[55]

There is, however, one unfortunate feature. Like its second grade counterpart, the unit includes a lengthy narrative comprising nearly one-quarter of the text which portrays the least happy facets of Mexican life. Entitled "Two Families of Mexico," the narrative, adapted from Oscar Lewis' *Five Families*, presents the rural dwelling Pedro Martinez family and the Gomez's who reside in an urban slum. In a highly emotional fashion, it tells students about the depressing lives of people trapped in the culture of poverty. No flashes of happiness illuminate the lives of either family. As such, the narrative remains faithful to the original, for, as Oliver la Farge remarked in his introduction to *Five Families*, "To me, among the striking things about these families are their general malaise, the rarity among them of happiness or contentment, the rarity of affection."[56]

But in its faithfulness to the original, the narrative negates much of the unit's positive tone, especially since modern urban Mexico is supposedly the hope for the future. An exercise in the unit review reinforces the damaging impact. Students are instructed to divide a sheet of paper into three columns, writing Martinez and Gomez on the first two and their own family name on the last. They should then "use these columns to compare the three families. Items of comparison should include where they live, kind of houses, food, how the fathers make a living, material things owned by the family, . . ."[57]

Treatment of Puerto Rico

Uncertain as to whether Puerto Rico properly belongs in discussions of the United States or of Latin America, the texts resolve the dilemma by ignoring the Island. Save for being illustrated on a map as a possession of the United States or mentioned as a fruit of the Spanish-American War or, along with Guam and American Samoa as an outlying area, the texts generally remain silent on Puerto Rico's culture, history, and present state of development. *Inter-American Studies* briefly notes that "Puerto Rico has gone a long way toward solving its problems of overpopulation."[58] SRA, American Book Company, and Holt do not grant it even a paragraph. Only Follett's *Exploring Regions of Latin America and Canada* presents an extended discussion of Puerto Rico, and this only in a tortured attempt to demonstrate the superior developmental potential of capitalism as opposed to communism.

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[53] *Regions of Latin America*, p. 113.

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[56] Lewis, *Five Families*, p. ix.

[57] *Regions of Latin America*, p. 142.

The book sees Puerto Rico as the democratic counterpart to Cuba. The economic decline of Cuba which followed Castro's take-over forms a neat contrast to the resounding success of Puerto Rico's "Operation Bootstrap." As opposed to its penetrating problem-oriented discussions of other Latin American nations, the text portrays Puerto Rico almost entirely in positive terms. A chart illustrates the island's great progress in the years between 1940 and 1971 (although such valid internal comparisons are not made for other Latin American nations). The text does report that slums still fill San Juan, that unemployment remains a persistent problem, and that yearly income averages but one-fifth of that on the mainland, but it also affirms that Puerto Ricans have achieved great success in improving conditions. In sum, "other citizens of the United States can be proud of the help we have given to people who are working to help themselves."[59]

Caveats and Conclusions

This study by no means is exhaustive. The five series it considered are prominent and current. Nonetheless, many other series exist, and they might not display the same attitudes. Then, too, texts do not comprise the totality of a child's in-school learning experiences. Obviously, the competence of the classroom teacher remains a most important variable. Moreover, some of these series are complete packaged instructional programs. They include filmstrips, tapes, supplementary readings, and suggested activities--all of which may alter the tenor of the textual presentations. Still, texts do form a fundamental and important part of elementary school instruction and, therefore, do indeed help structure children's attitudes and beliefs.

Studies of this type also have an inherent tendency to emphasize the negative qualities of the materials analyzed. In this particular study, however, uncovering massive shortcomings in the presentations of Latin America did not require elaborate mental gymnastics. But, in fairness, just as none of the texts provides ideal coverage, none of them are completely without merit. Furthermore, all of the series do include some information regarding the American experiences of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in units on minorities, problems of prejudice, discussions of the Southwestern United States, or in vignettes of urban life. The American Book Company presents short sections on "Mexican Americans--People of Two

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[58] *Inter-American Studies*, p. 320.

[59] *Regions of Latin America*, p. 186.

Cultures" and on "Newcomers from Puerto Rico" in *Asking About the U.S.A. and Its Neighbors*.[60]

It is my contention, however, that grafting on units about Chicanos and Puerto Ricans to existing texts forms but an inadequate recognition of the important heritage these people possess. According to one curriculum specialist, "In the case of young people, the schools are charged with the responsibility of selecting, transmitting, and enlarging those portions of the culture which are appropriate to their stage of growth."[61] If a portion of the Latino heritage properly lies in the Latin American homeland, texts must recognize a responsibility to eschew a narrow and negative treatment of that area. Just as texts have begun to conquer the old jungle image of Africa, so too must they realize that the exotic, the primitive, and the negative constitute only a part--not all--of the Latin American experience.

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[60] Of course, such coverage emerges as less than admirable when we note that the American Council on Education's 1949 study remarked (*Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials*, p. 8), with reference to treatment of Spanish-speaking minorities, "the ethnic qualities of this group, its place in the pattern of American society and the problems faced by its members are virtually ignored."

[61] Wesley Cartwright, *Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools*, 3rd ed. (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1968), p. 98.

ANGLES OF VISION IN N. SCOTT MOMADAY'S HOUSE MADE OF DAWN

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Despite some notice in the popular press and its subsequent winning of a Pulitzer Prize, N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* has received scant serious critical attention.[1] That it has received so little is something of an anomaly, considering the increased interest in Native-American history, culture, and literature in recent years and the growing awareness in white society of the unique value of understanding the American Indian. More puzzling, however, is the general failure of scholars of modern American fiction to give the book proper notice, for it is clearly a work of sufficient complexity and scope to merit close consideration. Perhaps we are in a critical lull of the kind that some novels, which are later recognized as major works--Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*, for instance--seem to experience following their publication.

The analogy with Faulkner is not gratuitous, for Faulkner's work provides a number of useful parallels to Momaday's. Indeed, there are some passages in *House Made of Dawn* which have a remarkably Faulknerian ring, though on the whole Momaday's syntax and diction do not warrant close comparison. A more important resemblance, for the purposes of this paper, is Faulkner's use--most notably in *The Sound and the Fury* and *As I Lay Dying*--of a fragmented narrative viewpoint. *The Sound and the Fury* is particularly useful, for there Faulkner gives the reader at least four angles of vision on the character whose personality and actions are of central importance to the narrators' lives, but significantly omits the viewpoint of this "central" character. Thus, the reader sees Caddy through the eyes of Benjy, Quentin, Jason, and possibly Dilsey, but Caddy herself does not "speak." This is not to say that Caddy is poorly drawn; she is possibly one of Faulkner's most palpable and credible characters.

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[1] To date, the only extended critical essay is Marion Willard Hylton, "On a Trail of Pollen: Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*, *Critique*, 14, No. 2 (1972), pp. 60-69, which is chiefly concerned with an ordering of the story's events and an exegesis of their meaning. Of the articles in the popular press, the most useful are two by Henry Raymont in the *New York Times* for May 6, 1969, p. 35, and July 26, 1969, p. 26, both of which give background information on Momaday and his approach to Indian literature. A review by Marshall Sprague, "Anglos and Indians," *New York Times Book Review* (June 9, 1968), p. 5, praises the novel but offers little critical insight. Two other reviews--Joan W. Stevenson in *Library Journal* (June 15, 1968), p. 2522, and William James Smith in *Commonweal* (September 20, 1968), p. 636--find serious problems with Momaday's style, plot construction, and characterization, as noted in Footnote 2.

Some reviewers have argued that Abel, the central figure in Momaday's novel, is poorly portrayed or drawn only as a passive character.[2] This argument would assume that a novel's protagonist must be able to articulate or have articulated for him his own vision, motives, and values. This strikes me as an objection which many readers might lodge against this novel, but one which represents a serious misconception about the limits of modern fiction. Further, such an objection indicates a failure to grasp what may be Momaday's central theme. For *House Made of Dawn* is a novel about vision and articulation, or the lack of them, and how they might be achieved. Abel's inability to "see" and articulate his proper relationship to the world is precisely the focus of this novel. This most certainly, then, cannot be the failure of the novelist's imagination.

Like *The Sound and the Fury*, *House Made of Dawn* is divided into four major sections, each of them focusing upon a particular day or short span of days, but moving between past and present constantly and often without overt explanation or transition. The first section, "The Long Hair," is somewhat comparable to Benjy's section in *The Sound and the Fury* in terms of the abrupt and confusing shifts in the date upon which the narrative focuses, though it is not nearly as complex as Faulkner's masterful opening. Though the central actions of the section are Abel's, his consciousness dominates the narrative for a relatively short space: as he recovers from a heavy bout of drinking and a dead sleep on July 21, 1945, the narrative comprises his memories of the home to which he has just returned. Though they are jumbled chronologically, his recollections of his childhood and adolescence are remembered "whole and in detail." But the problem--and the key to the segment's technique--is that it is "the recent past, the intervention of days and years without meaning, of awful calm and collision, time always immediate and confused, that he could not put together in his mind."[3] In a superficial sense, it is experience perceived through the mind of the "drunken Indian" who staggers off the bus into his grandfather's arms the preceding day. But as the book progresses, it becomes clear that Momaday means to suggest a much more profound dislocation in time and space. The only other segments of the narrative which are controlled by Abel's perceptions are those in which, drunk and severely beaten, he literally cannot see and figuratively cannot focus on anything but his own pain. Abel cannot fully accommodate to either the white or the Indian world throughout the novel, and the two points where the books's vision is essentially his indicate this double estrangement.

House Made of Dawn is not, however, a despairing work, as the book's overall structure indicates. In the prologue and the conclusion, the focus is on the same day, February 28, 1952, and action, Abel's running. Like *Walden*, this novel moves through the cycle of the seasons, and it opens and concludes with winter's end. Though the sky is dark and the ground covered with snow, the brief, brilliant colors of the dawn and the rain which accompanies it indicate the proximity of spring and natural rebirth. The cracking and melting of the ice in Walden Pond suggests for Thoreau the rebirth and expansion of the soul for man properly attuned to nature. Over a hundred years later, Momaday suggests strongly at both the opening and closing that Abel may be coming back into that proper attunement, that he can run beyond his pain even though his body "cracks open" with it. Only thus can he experience the vision which he must before he can finally articulate the creation song that comes to his lips.[4]

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[2] Stevenson finds the characters "ethereal" and the plot line "indistinct"; Smith describes Momaday's characters as "all bemisted by words," and he adds: "His hero does not come through at all. . . ."

[3] N. Scott Momaday, *House Made of Dawn* (New York: New American Library, 1969), p. 25 (emphasis added). All subsequent citations from the novel are to this text and will be given parenthetically in the text of this paper.

Abel is scarcely alone in his failure of vision and articulation. Almost all of the other characters whose consciousnesses determine the reader's angle of vision at various times share his problem: significantly, none of them--with the possible exception of his grandfather, Francisco--understand Abel or his dilemma. Only Francisco is intuitively attuned to his natural environment, and only he can properly express man's proper relationship to the rest of the natural world. He does so not by direct analysis, explanation, or description, but through ritual and myth. It is a vision and natural relation of this kind which Abel must attain and express in the same way if he is to be whole again, if he is to finally move beyond his pain and towards the house made of dawn, towards a realm where it is "beautiful all around." The circular movement of the book suggests that Abel will only have vision and power again when he returns to the old ways, the ancient rituals by which man's relationship to the universe attains timelessness and significance.

Set off against Francisco are the other characters whose visions are partial or fragmented: Father Olguin, Angela Grace St. John, Tosomah, Milly, and Ben Benally. The angle of vision of each of them reveals some part of Abel's character, by analogy or contrast, and each could potentially help him achieve self-realization. But not until the novel's penultimate chapter is there a clear indication of what he must and can do to return to an authentic and whole existence. Momaday reveals slowly and by indirection, through the words and perception of these characters, the direction Abel must take. The whole novel can be seen as a mythic structure comparable to any of the several myths which are recounted in the novel's course. It is a story without an explicit "point," but one which involves a hero performing heroic actions, suffering to the point of symbolic "death" and striving to regain his power in the face of a powerful enemy; in its course it reveals not a traditional or transitory social moral, but a timeless truth. The problem Momaday faces is strongly implied in the Priest of the Sun's sermon:

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[4] Hylton sees Abel at the end of the novel as endowed "at last with courage and wisdom; he comes to know who he is and what he must do to maintain that identity" (p. 60). Hylton thus interprets Abel's running, at the end, as "completing the final phase of his own spiritual healing" (p. 69). While I would agree with the general drift of this reading, I find the novel somewhat more open-ended than Hylton does. Momaday portrays Abel as beginning to come back into the proper relationship with what Hylton calls "the orderly continuum of interrelated events that constitute the Indian universe" (p. 69), not as having actually achieved that relationship.

> In the white man's world, language, too--and the way in which the white man thinks of it--has undergone a process of change. The white man takes such things as words and literature for granted, as indeed he must, for nothing in the world is so commonplace. On every side of him there are words by the millions, an unending succession of pamphlets and papers, letters and books, bills and bulletins, commentaries and conversations. He has diluted and multiplied the Word, and words have begun to close in upon him. He is sated and insensitive; his regard for language--for the Word itself--as an instrument of creation has diminished nearly to the point of no return. It may be that he will perish by the Word. (p. 89)

Yet Momaday has chosen to work within a fictional mode of the white man's civilization and to address himself to a racially heterogeneous audience, for much of which important segments of the work are necessarily opaque. The multiple point of view is a possible solution to that problem, for it permits the reader to see through the eyes of characters from both the Indian and white worlds. Once having sensed this, the reader also comes to appreciate the enormous difficulty of such communication in any other form. Like another storyteller, Tosomah's grandmother, Momaday asks his readers " . . . to come directly into the presence of his mind and spirit," takes hold of their imaginations, and brings them with him to " . . . the confrontation of something that is sacred and eternal . . . a timeless, timeless thing" (p. 88).

The characters listed above all attempt to make a leap of understanding across cultures, with widely varying success. The reader has a variety of viewpoints to work from, one of which may well be close to his own. (*As I Lay Dying* provides a similar range of perspective.) Many whites could well find themselves in the position of Father Olguin, the first non-Indian consciousness to control the angle of vision. He is clearly sympathetic to, somewhat knowledgeable about, and eager to come to a satisfactory relationship with the Indians in the town. Though the coming of Angela excites him to a confidence in that relationship which is later proven premature, he can never come to the degree of spiritual intimacy that he at first desires. For he is, after all, a man of limited vision: "One of his eyes was clouded over with a blue, transparent film, and the lid drooped almost closed" (p. 28).[5] He does see the parallels between his situation and that of a forerunner, Fra Nicolas, but he does not go mad as his predecessor did. Rather, he accepts the inevitability of "some old and final cleavage, of certain exclusion, the whole subtle politics of estrangement" in exchange for "his safe and sacred solitude" in the rectory (p. 174). Though he alone attempts, at Abel's trial, to articulate the difference between the white legal system and the moral perspective by which Abel sees himself justified in killing a man, he ultimately fails to transmit even his own limited understanding. This failure is anticipated in his confusion following an encounter with Angela

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[5] Hylton points out that Abel and the albino, as well as Father Olguin, have difficulty "seeing": "The albino's vision is clouded by evil, Father Olguin's by his Christian beliefs, and Abel's by not accepting his birthright" (p. 66). The point is good, though oversimplified in Abel's case; Hylton does not elaborate or qualify it any further.

(pp. 67-70), who has had intercourse with Abel and has achieved a temporary communication with the natural forces he represents for her (p. 62). Driving back into town after confronting her and being shaken by her blasphemy, he sees himself as only a target for the Indian children's laughter. At the novel's end, as he peers into the darkness and shouts to Abel, "I understand! Oh, God! I understand--I understand!" (p. 190), the reader feels chiefly the desperation of the cry and the finality of his failure.[6]

In the case of Angela, though the moment of her communion and understanding is intense, she ultimately falls away from it. Abel is both the axe wielder who splits her open and sets her on fire and the bear through whom flows the vitality that will, for a time, reawaken her to her own life. Their sexual union, it is suggested, does have a more permanent effect: Angela comes to accept the child growing within her, which she had previously thought of as grotesque. That her nature is peculiarly open to contact and empathy with spiritual force is re-emphasized when she meets Father Olguin at her house. She is "engulfed by" the storm around her as she has earlier been overwhelmed by the fierce contest between Abel and the albino on the feast of Santiago. Momaday renders the aftermath of the earlier event in sexual terms:

> She was bone weary, and her feet slipped down in the sand of the street, and it was nearly beyond her to walk. Like this, her body had been left to recover when once and for the first time, having wept, she had lain with a man; and it had been the same sacrificial hour of the day . . . like this, though she could not have known, the sheer black land above the orchards and the walls, the scarlet sky and the three-quarter moon. (p. 45)

The sexual comparison indicates the immediacy and intensity of her response to the event, but she is here seen as unaware of the change being wrought in her by that response. But the effect of the storm is significantly different:

> At the source of the rain the deep black bank of the sky swelled and roiled, moving slowly southward, under the rock rims of the canyon walls. And in the cold and denser dark, Angela

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[6] Hylton sees Abel's troubles beginning from the moment when, during intercourse, Angela's white hands are laid on Abel's body, his brown hands on her. Rending the sex act as the divulgence of secrets, Hylton finds that, in giving his strength to Angela, Abel has laid himself open to evil. He does not begin to recover his strength until after Angela's visit to him in the hospital: "Hearing Angela and seeing how she has changed has at last made clear to him just how and why he lost his way" (Hylton, pp. 66-67). I would argue that Abel's troubles pre-exist his intercourse with Angela; at his first appearance he has already been damaged by white civilization. Further, the albino's vicious attack on Abel during the feast of Santiago also predates this intercourse: when Abel, "full of caution and gesture," fails to pull the rooster from the ground, Angela "despise[s] him a little" (p. 43). Finally, my own reading emphasizes his final confrontation with the dying Francisco as showing him the error of his way and pointing him toward the right one.

> stood transfixed in the open door and breathed deep into her lungs the purest electric scent of the air. She closed her eyes, and the clear aftervision of the rain, which she could still hear and feel so perfectly as to conceive of nothing else, obliterated all the mean and myriad fears that had laid hold of her in the past. Sharpest angles of light played on the lids of her eyes, and the great avalanche of sound fell about her. (p. 71)

The passage's insistence upon light and vision is unmistakable: when Angela "sees" and is awakened to her own unity with the immense forces around her, she achieves the kind of peace that is denied to Father Olguin, who approaches her "officiously on the basis of his own prejudices --a jealousy for Aesop and the ring of Genesis" (p. 68). The Western, humanistic vision of life is portrayed as inadequate to bring man to the kind of vision and spiritual communion which Angela achieves, however temporarily, a point which Tosomah will later make explicit in his sermon on the Gospel according to John.

But Angela, when Abel meets her some seven years later, has inevitably drifted back into the ways and language of the white civilization. Abel has called her name in his pain, indicating perhaps that he sees her, despite the lapse of seven years, as closer to him than Milly, with whom he has been living. She has, in fact, retained some of the insight granted to her at Los Ojos: she tells Abel a story of her own devising, about the union of a bear and a maiden to produce a young brave, a story paralleling their own experience and implying that she sees Abel as the spiritual father of her son. Her grasp of the essential mystery of their union and its significance is clear. Even Benally, who knows only that the story was "kind of secret and important to her," is so impressed by her being "a white woman, and she thought it up out of her own mind" (p. 170) that he immediately compares it to one of the old stories a grandfather had told him long ago. This tribute to her, however, must be taken in the context of Ben's account of her visit to the hospital, which shows both her recognition of her debt to Abel and her refusal to re-establish contact with him and, by implication, the non-white vision. Surrounding her story is the nervous, cliche-ridden language by which she holds Abel at a distance so that, at the visit's end, Abel "turned his head away, like maybe the pain was coming back . . ." (p. 170). Though Angela succeeds in making the breakthrough that eludes Father Olguin, she is not fundamentally changed by it. That she is not shows again the difficulty, perhaps the impossibility, of permanent communication between the races and of the whites being able to retain the Indian's vision. As Forster does at the conclusion of *Passage to India*, Momaday emphasizes, through Abel's final confrontations with Angela and Father Olguin, the vastness of the gulf that lies between the races, a gulf which may not be crossable even when both races have the best of intent and sympathy with each other.

Closely related to Angela and Father Olguin in terms of sympathy and intent is Milly, a social worker and the other important non-Indian figure in the novel. Abel calls her name, as well as asking for Angela, in his pain, and his doing so emphasizes her maternal role, as opposed to Angela's more explicitly erotic one. In the description of their first sexual encounter, it is Milly's breasts and Abel's sucking on them which Momaday focuses on; in the description of Angela's intercourse with Abel, Momaday insists upon the fire metaphor to describe Angela's internal state. Ben also calls attention to Milly's breasts and to her innocence: he instinctively feels embarrassed when Abel makes jokes about her body and sexuality because, he says, "I thought a lot of her and she was good to us" (p. 148).

Despite these qualities, Milly is inevitably estranged from Abel, perhaps even more so than Angela, by both her vision and her "language." Her occupation as social worker obliges her at first to administer tests to Abel, which attempt to discover personality and experience with questions like, "Which would you prefer to watch, a tennis match or a bullfight?" But this use of language is, on the face of it, hopelessly inadequate to explain Abel or lead to any true understanding of his dilemma. Though she soon stops giving these tests to Abel, he perceives that she "believed in tests, questions and answers, words on paper. . . . She believed in the Brotherhood of Man, The American Dream and him--Abel" (p. 99). But Abel is all too well aware of the emptiness of all of these, including, for the time, himself, and his own inability to buy them, as Ben and Milly have. Their acceptance of such language and forms as describing reality makes them, Abel sees, "a lot like" each other; it also makes them fundamentally and irreconcilably different from him.

Milly's childhood and attitude toward the land result in her further estrangement from both Abel and Ben. The daughter of a farmer who has gradually come "to hate the land . . . to think of it as some kind of enemy, his own very personal and deadly enemy" (p. 113), she has accepted his conviction that she has to get away from the land. From a child who "could run like a rabbit," whose "soles . . . were hard and cracked and black with dirt" (p. 113), she has changed into a woman who is at home in the city in a way that Abel, from the moment that he leaves the reservation uneasily wearing his first pair of shoes, will never be. She has settled in the city and accepted its values, even the self-imposed loneliness of its citizens: "She had been in Los Angeles for four years, and in all that time she had not talked to anyone" (p. 112). It is, thus, consistent that she does not come to the station to see Abel off, electing instead, characteristically, to go to work. Benally, who says she was sorry to see Abel go, still senses the finality of the break, even with himself: "Maybe she'll come around tomorrow. Maybe not" (p. 132). Milly will probably stay in her own white world and will not have even the regret that Angela, who has momentarily crossed the abyss, perhaps has had, though Angela now masks it over with polite, meaningless words.

Perhaps the only figure in the book who does manage to straddle both worlds is the Reverend John Big Bluff Tosomah, Pastor and Priest of the Sun. But even he, though more acquainted and at ease in both worlds than any other character, recognizes that they are irreconcilable. He is a perfect foil for Father Olguin, and it is tempting to take his kind of vision and articulation as the most successful in the book. Momaday strongly contrasts Tosomah and Abel, particularly in the "Priest of the Sun" section. There, Tosomah is shown as supremely confident and enabled by peyote--"the vegetal representation of the sun"--to achieve a fleeting perception of the world as "a single point of light, brilliant, radiant to infinity . . . final fire, the one essence of all fires from the beginning of time, there in the most beautiful brilliant bead of light" (p. 104). Further, he is able to articulate his perceptions in an uncanny mixture of oratorical flourish, hipster slang, and incantatory prayer; he is a wordmaster, *par excellence*, the apparent polar opposite of the nearly inarticulate Abel. While Tosomah is inside the circle of light and vision at the peyote ceremony, Abel lies cold, broken, and nearly sightless on the beach, a fish out of water, far removed from his proper element which lies a thousand miles inland. In his half-conscious and confused state, he remembers a moment in his childhood when, out hunting with his brother, he had seen the ducks rise and fly away. The insistence throughout the recalled incident is that his brother see the land, the sky, and the animals as a complete vision of beauty:

> . . . the water birds were beautiful I wish you could have seen them I wanted my brother to see them they were flying high and far away in the night sky and there was a full white moon and a ring around the moon and the clouds were long and bright and moving fast and my brother was alive and the water birds were so far away in the south and I wanted to see them they were beautiful and please I said please did you see them how they pointed with their heads to the moon and flew through the ring of the moon . . .
> (p. 111)

Momaday places this memory next to the first-person account of an anonymous fellow soldier in Abel's company during the war, an account in which he describes Abel's performing what he calls "a goddam war dance" in front of an enemy tank, which fires at him but seems unable to touch him (p. 108). Though at first confusing, the relationship between the two incidents becomes clear upon reflection and reference to Abel's own memory of the event, which is given much earlier in the novel. There is strongly implied that the machine itself is the enemy, and only Abel's connection with the earth and his ability to perform the dance make him invulnerable. Still whole in spirit and body, he can give the machine and all it represents "the finger" without fear. The soldier's reiterated exclamation of "Jesus!" strongly suggests that even he perceives the superhuman power which Abel achieves. The loss of that power then becomes all the more painful, its reachievement all the more crucial for Abel. But at this low ebb of his life, "his body, like his mind, had turned on him; it was his enemy" (p. 93).

Thus, the contrast between Abel and Tosomah developed in this section seems absolute: Momaday moves constantly from Tosomah supremely in control of himself and the others and Abel lying helpless on the beach. But the two men are also disturbingly similar in several ways. Both have attempted to revert to the original relationship with the land and with their grandparents, but both have earlier failed to re-establish themselves permanently "at home." Though Abel is forced to leave home the second time to serve his prison term, while Tosomah returns voluntarily to the city, Tosomah's account of his eastward journey to Rainy Mountain and his grandmother's grave parallels and anticipates Abel's final return to the reservation, where he watches his grandfather die. In the course of this return and confrontation with a dead or dying ancestor, both men experience a moment of intense vision at dawn, a glimpse of "the center of the world's being" (p. 125), "the clear pool of eternity" (p. 121), and both achieve a kind of peace or sustenance from that vision. Tosomah has consciously sought that vision by retracing the journey of the Kiowas from the Rocky Mountains to the plains, where "the sun is at home" and has "the quality of a god" (p. 120). "To look upon that landscape," he says, "is to lose the sense of proportion. Your imagination comes to life, and this, you think, is where Creation was begun" (p. 117). Following his attainment of that brief moment of almost frightening vision, he looks at the mountain once, but then turns his back on it and comes away; he implicitly chooses the path of existence in the city and reattainment of the vision through the peyote ritual. He will articulate that vision in the white man's words as well as the Indian's, playing a double role, becoming--in part, at least--the very divider and multiplier of the Word that he accuses the white man of being, and thereby failing to "let the Truth alone," just as had another John in the Gospel.

That Momaday does not wholly disapprove of Tosomah's choice is indicated by his attributing an account to Tosomah which, in "The Way to Rainy Mountain," the author gives in the first person. Tosomah chooses one way to the Truth, and it is not necessarily invalid. What he does with his vision is perhaps less admirable in Momaday's eyes, and it is here that the contrast between Abel and Tosomah returns to prominence. For though Tosomah has learned to cope with the white man's civilization, his existence will always be a somewhat underground, divided, and inauthentic one. Being attracted to and accommodated with the city, he will fail to understand sufficiently the "longhairs" like Abel, whom he tends to dismiss as "a little no-count cat" or "a real primitive sonuvabitch" (p. 136), despite an ironic and grudging admiration for Abel's integrity and bravery in defying the white legal code. His deeper respect, though not admiration, may be for the whites, who "put all of us renegades, us diehards, away sooner or later. They've got the right idea. . . . You've got to admire them, man: they know the score" (p. 136). He is defeated by his own cynicism, and his threat to "find us a wagon train full of women and children" is empty posturing, given the kind of truce he has made with the white's civilization.

Ben Benally, after relating this speech of Tosomah's, comments that Tosomah is always "talking crazy and showing off, but he doesn't understand. . . . he doesn't come from the reservation," where "there are a lot of funny things going on, things you don't know how to talk about" (p. 137, emphasis added). Ben, who does come from the reservation and has retained important memories of his childhood there, does understand Abel to an extent. It is he who, despite his acceptance of and preference for the glitter of the city, provides the reader with the best "window" or angle of vision for seeing why Abel must do what he ultimately chooses to do, and why his choice is right. Ben speculates at one point that he and Abel may be "related somehow," and he thinks of Abel's home, which he has visited, as "a pretty good place" (p. 140). He can empathize in a way that the more intelligent and educated Tosomah cannot, with Abel's having killed the albino out of fear, and he feels acutely the pain which Abel suffers when, having taken on another *culebra* in the person of Martinez the cop, Abel is beaten, his hands broken, his eyes rendered temporarily sightless.

For Ben himself has had a vision of a kind under peyote: he cries, "Look! Look! There are blue and purple horses . . . a house made of dawn" (p. 105), recalling the novel's prologue and its opening paragraph describing the house and its setting, which is "beautiful all around" (p. 7). He has taught Abel the prayer songs, Beautyway and Night Chant, one of which is given in full in Ben's section, "The Night Changer," and may be seen as a paradigm for the entire novel's cycle and hopefulness. In it, the chanter prays for restoration of mind and body and a return to attunement with the land, beautiful all around, "as it used to be long ago" (p. 135). Ben teaches this chant to Abel on a night when they are with a group of Indians dancing and singing on the hills outside Los Angeles; yet, even though the others have returned briefly to the old ways, Ben is ashamed, and he sings the song softly "because I didn't want anybody but him to hear," he says (p. 134). His shame here and his later failure to act out a plan to go home with Abel and watch the sun come up indicate his larger failure to come to the peace suggested by the prayer or even to attempt to come to it. Despite his wistful imaginative following of Abel on the train "going home," Ben chooses to remain in the city:

> It's a good place to live. There's always a lot going on, a lot of things to do and see once you find your way around. . . . you wonder how you ever got along out there where you came from. There's nothing there, you know, just the land, and the land is empty and dead. Everything is here, everything you could ever want. You never have to be alone. You go downtown and there are a lot of people all around, and they're having a good time. You see how it is with them, how they have money and nice things, radios and cars and clothes and big houses. And you want those things: you'd be crazy not to want them. (p. 164)

With Abel in the hills at night he can "see the stars at the center of the sky, how small and still they were," but he returns to the city, which casts "a faint yellow glare like smoke on the sky" (p. 171) and which is portrayed continually in his section as a place of darkness and cold rain. They have planned to get drunk and sing the old songs: "We were going to sing about the way it always was. And it was going to be right and beautiful. It was going to be the last time" (p. 172); but Ben returns to the damp, cold darkness of his room after he sees Abel off, through streets which are "dark all the time, even at noon" (p. 128), through a cacaphony of horns, whistles, and old newspaper sellers yelling at him, and back to his job where "they're always calling you chief and talking about firewater and everything" (p. 138) and where the boss continually complains about "these damned no-good greasers" (p. 147). For Ben has learned how to take it. He is literally and figuratively dazzled by the lights of the rainy city at night: " . . . at night when it rains the lights are everywhere. They shine on the pavement and the cars. They are all different colors; they go on and off and move all around. The stores are all lighted up inside, and the windows are full of shiny things. Everything is clean and bright and new-looking" (p. 128). Ben finally opts for loss of clear and intense vision and the attempt to achieve it, for embarrassed silence over proud articulation of the old chants, for endurance within the white's civilization over rejection of and withdrawal from it. Confronting Abel's choice, he decides that if he "went home there would be nothing there, just the empty land and a lot of old people, going noplace [sic] and dying off" (p. 145).

The novel comes full circle when Abel does make that journey home for the second time, there to confront the empty land and his dying grandfather. But Abel will come to see them in a radically different way than Benally does, and to the extent that he does so his new "vision" will indicate to him the direction he needs to go. For if the final section of the novel, "The Dawn Runner," shows the death of Francisco, it also points toward the spiritual rebirth of Abel, who takes his grandfather's "place" in the dawn running for a good year and who may come to take his place in a more lasting way. He comes home with his hands broken and his eyes still black and blue, but by the end, as he runs, he is "past caring about the pain" and can "see at last without having to think" (p. 191).

But what occupies the bulk of the final section is not the description of Abel's running, but the memories of the dying Francisco. Although at the end his words are scarcely audible and make no sense, on the six dawns before his death Francisco has spoken, "and the voice of his memory was whole and clear and growing like the dawn" (p. 177). These memories--stories--in effect--provide the means by which Abel may come to see himself and his relation to the rest of the world clearly and beneficially--they form a last testament by which Francisco "teaches" as he always has and as Tosomah's grandmother taught him, not by explicit preachment but by narrative and example. His recollections are of his own young manhood and of several later occasions when he had instructed the boy Abel. Taken together, they show how Abel can, by living according to the solar and natural cycles, locate himself in time and space and preserve "the larger meaning of the organic calendar itself," a meaning which can be "lost forever as easily as one generation is lost to the next" (p. 178). The stories also should suggest to him the proper relationship of man and the other animals (pp. 178-84), of man and woman (pp. 184-85), and of individual, mortal men to ancient ritual and tradition (pp. 185-88). In short, they show Abel how Francisco has attained these relationships, and they bring him to the point where he may begin to regain his power, whole in body and mind, located and accommodated on the land and in time. The narrative opens with Francisco chanting to himself, remembering his most successful dawn run; it ends with Abel trying to get back into the running, "his body cracked open with pain," but gradually moving towards the vision and articulation he has lacked:

> He could see the canyon and the mountains and the sky. He could see the rain and the river and the fields beyond. He could see the dark hills at dawn. He was running, and under his breath he began to sing. There was no sound, and he had no voice; he had only the words of a song. And he went running on the rise of the song. (p. 191)

In another work, *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, Momaday has written:

> A word has power in and of itself. It comes from nothing into sound and meaning: it gives origin to all things. By means of words can a man deal with the world on equal terms. And the word is sacred.[7]

The sacramental value of the word is made explicit here and at several places in *House Made of Dawn*, most notably in Tosomah's sermon.

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[7] N. Scott Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 1969), p. 33.

Such an evaluation raises problems for the contemporary Indian novelist, for it is radically out of keeping in an age which is anti-poetic, characterized by its proliferation and bastardization of words and the devaluation of the word's power.[8] For the novelist--a wordsmith and myth maker--to operate successfully in this atmosphere, he must find new ways of calling his audience's attention to the symbolic, mysterious nature of language and myth; he must be suggestive rather than explicit, for only thus will the reader be "let directly into the presence of [the novelist's] mind and spirit," as Tosomah's grandmother allows him into the presence of her imagination through her stories. The writer must somehow clear for himself a space amid the welter of technological, psychological, sociological, journalistic jargon which surrounds him and his reader, and the strategy by which he effects that clearing may need to be extraordinary, breaking with expected narrative modes and techniques. At the same time, the novelist must bear in mind that he is working in the dominant genre of popular literature, within which the reader is constantly exposed to a variety of formulas and stereotypes--so much so that the average reader may come to form his critical precepts and tastes exclusively within the realm of mass market literature, to cut his critical teeth on mush.

Certainly a professor of literature like Momaday would be acutely aware of the problem of writing to a predominantly white mass audience, yet attempting to communicate an experience, a tradition, and a world view fundamentally different from that of most of his audience.[9] Even more than Faulkner writing of the rural South, Momaday has a "translation" problem. To my mind he, in large part, solves that problem by adopting a fragmented viewpoint, allowing the novelist to circle about yet focus on a central figure who is at once typical and unique: a contemporary Indian torn between two contradictory civilizations, two ways of life. Old and young, male and female, white and Indian--all these perspectives are given to the reader, and by them he may come to see Abel in his complex fullness and to appreciate Abel's dilemma and the odds against his coming to fullness of vision and clarity of articulation. Paradoxically, however, one also comes, through the sum of these angles of vision, to realize the essential mystery of Abel's personality and the overwhelming value of what he is running toward--integration of body and spirit, man and nature--difficult though its achievement may be. This doubleness of function of the narrative mode parallels and implies the doubleness of existence for the Indian in contemporary America, and it gives *House Made of Dawn* much of its unique authenticity and appeal.

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[8] Sprague's review notes that "American Indians do not write novels and poetry as a rule." The generalization may be somewhat shaky, but it is illuminating that Momaday's original creative work had been in poetry, making him even more singular. Indeed, his editor at Harper and Row first contacted him--after knowing him as "one of the most admired students of Yvor Winters"--in an effort to secure a collection of his poems for possible publication. Raymont reports that Momaday, not having enough poetry for a collection, instead submitted an earlier draft of the novel to the Harper Prize novel contest.

[9] Raymont's July, 1969, article, recounting Momaday's appearance at a publisher's luncheon in New York shortly after he won the Pulitzer Prize, is especially interesting in this regard. Stressing the need for the preservation of Indian folklore and language, Momaday saw in them a "linguistic antidote" to the "harshness and materialism that has crept into the American idiom" through the media, for Indian language, because isolated, has "retained a sense of poetry and an affinity to nature that could be a boon to the young."

PEREGRINOS DE AZTLÁN AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE CHICANO NOVEL

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Pocho (1959), by José Antonio Villareal, according to most critics, represents the appearance of the Chicano novel. For almost a decade this work stood as sole representative of the genre until the publication of Raymond Barrio's *The Plum Plum Pickers* (1969). However, a growing number of recent anthologies devoted to Chicano prose fiction attests to the fact that a long, if not prolific, narrative tradition forms the basis for today's literary production.[1]

While the nature of Chicano existence in the United States has determined the type of literary output to a large extent (basically poetry, drama, autobiography, and short story), the oral and dramatic traditions have been instrumental and complimentary in keeping alive aspects which are now being written. Just as 1848 is fixed as the year of the beginning of modern Chicano history, 1959 is a landmark in the trajectory of the novel. *Pocho*, in its fictionalization of attempts to cope with aspects of Chicano existence, lays the thematic groundwork for works which will be written and published later.

The absence of a large body of Chicano literature has been the topic of much recent discussion. According to some critics, and rightly so:

> The scarcity of Chicano literature is primarily the result of an exclusionist and intolerant American society that has maintained a purist and static view of literature. The basis for what

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[1] There exist several excellent anthologies of Chicano literature among which one finds: Octavio I. Romano, ed., *El Espejo--The Mirror* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol, 1969); Ed Ludwig and James Santibañez, ed., *The Chicanos: Mexican American Voices* (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1971); Edward Simmen, ed., *The Chicano: From Caricature to Self Portrait* (New York: Mentor Books, 1971); Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner, ed., *Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican Americans* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972); Antonia Castañeda Shular, Tomás Ybarra-Fraustoand Joseph Sommers, ed., *Literatura chicana: texto y contexto* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972); Philip D. Ortego, ed., *We Are Chicanos: An Anthology of Mexican-American Literature* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1973); Dorothy E. Harth and Lewis M. Baldwin, ed., *Voices of Aztlán* (New York: Mentor Books, 1974). Much of the material is repeated in the anthologies. However, an outstanding literary appraisal and introduction can be found in *Literatura chicana: texto y contexto*, which treats Chicano literature within the larger American context.

> is literarily valid and thereby publishable has been the degree of conformity to pre-established literary, ideological and linguistic norms--norms which reflected the interests of the groups in power.[2]

With the development of the "Movement," Chicanos have taken upon themselves the responsibility of publishing their own works, which hopefully will alleviate some of the selective discrimination which has been experienced in the past.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the development of the Chicano novel over the past five years in an attempt to compare various themes, techniques, and modes of narration. The works of four authors, from diverse publishers, will be examined: Raymond Barrio, *The Plum Plum Pickers* (1969); Tomás Rivera, *. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra* (1971); Oscar Zeta Acosta, *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* (1972); and Miguel Méndez M., *Peregrinos de Aztlán* (1974). Primary focus will be upon the last two works. *Peregrinos de Aztlán* will be treated as the high point of the Chicano novel, in terms of depth of experience, for imaginative use of language, and for treatment of the important themes of Chicano life, past and present.

In a perceptive essay, "Chicano Literature: Sources and Themes," Francisco Jiménez points out four basic themes common to most Chicano literature: identification with the Indian past, attitude toward American society, exploitation of farm labor, and life in the barrio.[3] This study will take into account these basic themes and others in an assessment of the fictional world of these Chicano authors.

Raymond Barrio's *The Plum Plum Pickers* depicts the life style of migrant workers from the points of view of owners, overseers, and workers. Narrated primarily in third person with occasional flashbacks, the novel seeks to examine various modes of existence and experiences. The Gutiérrez family is the focus of the majority of attention, although the novel embraces a cross section of the migrant population. Manuel and Lupe Gutiérrez's perception of their reality via reminiscences, thoughts, and other internal mental processes helps to validate these experiences. The subject matter of *The Plum Plum Pickers* is derived from within the Chicano experience itself, from whence comes the essence of the narrative.

Thematically, *The Plum Plum Pickers* explores the rift between those who have and those who have not, while offering a comment upon labor and living conditions. In this novel, as demonstrated in several other Chicano works of fiction, the incongruity between Anglo and Chicano culture provides the conceptual basis of the work. The effects of hostility and conflict upon characters in Barrio's novelistic world are manifested in diverse ways. Neither old nor new escape the effects of a near schizophrenic existence.

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[2] *Literatura chicana: texto y contexto*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

[3] *The Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe*, 1, No. 1 (1974), pp. 4-15.

The problem of presenting an acceptable self-image can be best seen in *The Plum Plum Pickers* from the point of view of the teen-age Margarita Delgado. Her auto-assessment involves a certain amount of soul searching as she spends many hours questioning their origin and place in society.

> Why were the güeros so set against them? Because their skins were darker? Because they spoke Spanish? That couldn't be enough reason. Could it? There were too many different kinds of Americans. Violence bred more violence. She didn't like that. Always arguing, insulting, fighting. Love bloomed so fragilely and you had to wait for it to happen.[4]

Margarita's worries are also reflected by many others in the novel as her family is in the process of becoming anglicized. Pepe and Serafina, her parents, no longer have to follow the migrant trail because Pepe has steady work in the cannery. However, work in the fields is still necessary to supplement family income.

Difficulties with Anglo peers at school cause Margarita to withdraw and causes her brother, Danny, to overcompensate in terms of *machismo*. With the new acceptance of Anglo values by his family, Pepe finds that he is no longer accepted as its head. His wife and children do not see him now in the same light as when the primary objective was survival. Thus, with their anglicization comes a breakdown of family structure. The inherent dilemma presented is that, even though Chicanos share some of the same values as Anglos, such as the desire for a better existence, they will not be looked upon as full fledged members of society.

The attitude toward the Chicano worker is best described in penetrating looks at grower psychology which, with the help of narratorial intrusion, is quite revealing in several chapters. Mr. Turner's posture is representative.

> All he had to do was to hang onto his Fresno vineyards for twenty odd, very odd years, steadily exploiting the life out of hundreds upon hundreds of highly vulnerable, mobile, and easily intimidated Mexican braceros invited up from our friendly neighbor south of the border, hiring them, his fellow human beings, to pluck the fruit he grew, at prevailing starvation wages, and not even think of them again, or their health, or their hunger, or their families, or their education, nothing, while watching his bank accounts fatten and fatten and fatten.[5]

This attitude is acted out in Turner's dealings with other characters in the novel. The gross insensitivity on the grower's part sums up quite convincingly attitudes reflected by Turner (owner), Quill (administrator), and Gonzales (overseer), in the context of the work. A car accident in which several workers are killed and forgotten within a matter of hours is indicative of this attitude.

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[4] Raymond Barrio, *The Plum Plum Pickers* (New York: Colophon Books, 1969), p. 109.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

The principal idea expressed is to exploit the workers for all they are worth while maintaining control through coercion and fear. By keeping them near the starvation level, rebellion is not likely to occur. Nor is there likely to be a middle ground in terms of Anglo/Chicano relationships. The dichotomy remains between exploiter/exploited as long as there is a lack of mutual respect.

Possible changes in Anglo attitude, perception, and treatment of the Chicano is likely to be brought about by characters such as Ramiro Sánchez. Ramiro is aware of his proud heritage and, instead of using it as an escape mechanism, employs it to confront daily reality. He seems to be awaiting the opportune moment.

> His ancestors had fought off the cindery blasts of mighty volcanoes, had dipped flaky fish out of deep cool lakes with their graceful butterfly nets, has fought off the greedy hacenderos, and before that, resisted the greedier Spanish gachupín conquistadores. The grito of Padre Hidalgo, still echoing in his soul, lay still, and unanswered. When oh when padre, do we stop stooping and start collecting our liberty and our ardor and our justice and our brotherhood of man?[6]

From the moment he appears in the novel, Ramiro seems to be in charge of himself and serves as a type of consciousness of the fruit picker in his criticism of injustices. His heritage embraces generations of struggle and resistance dating from the indigenous cultures through Conquest and Independence. Ramiro seeks strength and fulfillment from Margarita with whom he has chosen to face the future. Our final impression of him is that of a person who will continue to fight against injustices in an effort to better the lives of Chicanos even if it means sacrificing a person such as Mr. Quill.

The Plum Plum Pickers is not an optimistic novel. However, it does emphasize some strong points of Chicano life such as the capacity for struggle, family unity, and the ability to survive. Combined with more respect from the majority culture, these elements will hopefully bring about a better tomorrow.

The agricultural experience is one of the most documented motifs of Chicano literature. The problems of seasonal and migrant workers in terms of food, clothing, shelter, and education--i.e., material existence--play a prominent role in three of the works under consideration. In their imaginative portrayal of these experiences, the authors seek to reveal some particulars of the struggle while keeping the work within the realm of fiction.

. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra: . . . and the earth did not part deals with similar experiences but from different focal points. Rather than a straightforward narrative sequence, the reader is forced to perceive the complexities of Tomás Rivera's characters from diverse angles.

In his introduction to this work, Herminio Ríos C. writes:

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

> *. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra* in its creation in the thoughts, feelings, personality of the writer, in its structure and thematic presentation, reveals a unity that brings it close to the genre of the novel.[7]

If read as different chapters, the narrations which form the artistic whole may be considered a novel since most of the collective experiences are presented from the point of view of a single individual beneath the house. The prologue ("The Lost Year") and the epilogue ("Under the House") serve to encapsulate the central theme of Chicano experience within a single framework.

Most of the twelve episodes are perceived by the narrator from the points of view of children who are usually the innocent victims of good versus evil or of humiliation in the fields and schools. Exploitation emerges as the principal thematic link between the various components of *. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra*.

The narrative segment, titled "When We Arrive," is indicative of some of the pressures faced by characters in the novelistic world of Tomás Rivera. The reader is able to enter the thought processes of different characters en route to the Midwest harvest during a stop to repair the truck in which they are traveling. The cramped conditions under which the journey is being made are foremost among their preoccupations, but the principal interest is in survival and the future. There is a certain amount of frustration and anxiety involved in the situation presented because most of the characters realize that his is only part of a larger process in which they must participate with no end in sight. Somebody proclaims that "I'm tired of always arriving. Maybe I should say when we don't arrive because that's the plain truth. We never really arrive anywhere."[8]

These lines sum up succinctly the situation of most of the characters who populate Rivera's fictional world. The inability to define themselves on their own terms emerges as one of the principal leit motifs. The story which gives title to the volume, " . . . and the earth did not part," is indicative of this problem. The protagonist, after watching members of his family suffer from sunstroke in the fields, finally curses God and awaits His wrath, which never comes. This outcome suggests that it is necessary to break away from the old teachings and seek new definitions and solutions to life's challenges. Hopefully, this will be on a social as well as a psychological level.

The large rift between Chicano and Anglo society which is so apparent in *The Plum Plum Pickers* and in *. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra* is even more pronounced in *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo*. The major difference is that the latter work is written in the popular vein and is concerned with middle class, rather than rural agrarian, aspects of the Chicano experience.

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[7] Tomás Rivera, *. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra: . . . and the earth did not part* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol, 1971), p. xv.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

In *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo*, an ironic and sarcastic critique of Anglo society and values, the protagonist's search for identity begins as, "With a head full of speed, a wilted penis and a can in my hand, my knuckles redden as I hold tightly to the wheel and plunge headlong over the mountains and into the desert in search of my past. . . ."[9] Oscar Acosta, a welfare lawyer in Oakland, California, decides to drop out of life. As he embarks upon the physical trip, his mental processes involve a reassessment of his growth from childhood to maturity. Therefore, a significant portion of Oscar's life unfolds as he speeds down the highway.

The recapitulation which follows in the fictional autobiography introduces the reader to Acosta family life in a Riverbank, California, *barrio*. The father, Manuel Mercado Acosta, is an *indio* from the mountains of Durango, his mother from the slums of Juárez. Manuel, a wetback, is drafted into the Army in 1943, captured by the enemy, and never fully recovers from his P.O.W. experiences.

Young Oscar leads a typical small town "right side of the tracks" existence in the community composed mostly of Okies and Mexicans. At an early age, he learns of the dichotomy between Anglo and Mexican society. Significant to his childhood experiences (related with tongue in cheek by the mature Oscar) is his infatuation with Jane Addison. "She was blonde, shy, and had red acne all over her beautiful face."[10] Jane completely ignores Oscar's advances as he carves her initials in his flesh and finally whips the school bully in her presence. After the fight, they return to class where the sweating and tired Oscar gloats over his accomplishments, hoping that Jane's opinion had changed. Jane, who sits behind Oscar, kicks him on the foot several times and finally attracts the teacher's attention as Oscar anticipates:

> "Yes, Jane. What is it?" I heard my teacher say. Silence . . . my heart flutters butterflies. My God.
>
> "Will you please ask Oscar to put on his shirt? . . . He stinks."
>
> The room is filled with laughter. My ears pound red. I am done for. My heart sags from the overpowering weight of the fatness of my belly. I am the nigger after all. My mother was right. I am nothing but an Indian with sweating body and faltering tits that sag at the sight of a young girl's eyes.[11]

For the first time young Oscar becomes aware that he is quite different, not just in terms of his size, but also ethnically, as he is harshly rejected. This uneven fusion of cultures, accentuated by Oscar's innocence, is one of the principal motifs of the novel. The narrative tone when dealing with Anglo women, psychology, and other values is highly critical.

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[9] Oscar Zeta Acosta, *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* (New York: Popular Library, 1972), p. 87.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

Although attitudes toward Anglo women are fairly compatible throughout the works already mentioned, the manner in which they are presented is different. In *The Plum Plum Pickers* the only Anglo woman who raises Chicano attention is Phyllis Ferguson, the camp prostitute who exercises her art on Silvestre. After their sexual encounter he compliments the rug instead of her (pp. 22-3). A brief moment of consciousness in . . . *y no se lo tragó la tierra* reveals to the reader the same attitude, as the thoughts are of arriving in Minneapolis and working as a bellboy. "Maybe they'll give me a break there, or at some other hotel. Then I'll start making those Anglo girls" (p. 158). In essence, Anglo women are looked upon as sex objects. But young Oscar has to go through the entire educative process before his attitudes develop.

At sixteen, Oscar's second girlfriend is the thirteen-year-old Alice.

> The world simply changed when I looked into those big, innocent green-hazel eyes. The braces on her teeth made mincemeat out of Madeline Hart's horse mouth. The little scar above her upper lip I remember to this day. Even though she walked with a limp because of polio, still she agreed to dance with me at the school dance in the gymnasium after the basketball game.[12]

Tone is the key ingredient here as the two girls' physical inequities which did not trouble young Oscar, are subtly illustrated by the narrator (red acne/beautiful face; braces/scar/polio). He is rejected by Alice's parents because of who he is. The naive Oscar thinks that a change of name will make a difference. Narrative technique is also quite important in our perception of Oscar and his dilemma. By employing the first person witness/protagonist narration with an amount of distance, Oscar the narrator is able to discern most of the things which little Oscar could not imagine, such as why Alice's folks would allow her to marry an Italian twice as dark as Oscar without reservations.

These situations serve to illustrate the lack of cohesiveness between the two cultures which seems to lie at the heart of Chicano-Anglo conflicts. Several critics have made note of this disparity. Robert Blauner writes:

> James Baldwin has pointed to the deep mutual involvement of black and white in America. The profound ambivalence, the love-hate relationship which Baldwin's own work expresses and dissects, does not exist in the racism that comes down on La Raza, nor in the Chicano's stance toward the Anglo and his society. Even the racial stereotypes that plague Mexican Americans tend to lack that positive pole of the ambivalence that marks antiblack fantasies--supersexuality, inborn athletic and musical power, natural rhythm. Mexicans are dirty, lazy, treacherous, thieving bandits--and revolutionaries.[13]

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[13] Robert Blauner, "The Chicano Sensibility," *Trans-Action*, 8, No. 4 (1971), p. 52. Philip D. Ortego points out in reference to the Anglo perception of the Chicano that: "Mexican Americans have been characterized

The mature Oscar's concern for his self-images causes him to dissimulate and pretend to be a Samoan. His psychiatrist serves as a kind of alter-ego who constantly reminds him of his so-called inadequacies. The very presence of this "shrink" and his inability to solve Oscar's problem shows that mere psychiatry is not the answer.

The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo concerns itself with Oscar's development on two levels, both concerned with the problem of identity. First, young Oscar is trying to find himself in the Anglo world, and secondly, the mature Oscar is seeking his Mexican roots.

Oscar's brief return to Mexico, after a cross country journey, reveals to him that he is not equipped for existence in that world, either. The childish attitude which he displayed earlier toward *chicanas* ("All through school, in the Air Force, in San Francisco and in Alpine, I did not know one Mexican girl that aroused the beast within me."[14]) has now been reversed as he has developed into a more perceptive individual.

> Whatever Alice Joy or Jane Addison meant to me as a kid, now they were only grade school memories of a time gone by. I was thirty three when I hit the streets of Juárez and I had never found a woman to love in all my travels. But that night out on the town, I saw at least a thousand I'd have married gladly on the spot if they'd given me a tumble.[15]

But his new self-awareness is not enough for survival in the Mexican environment, for he lacks the fundamental ability to communicate in his father's tongue. Oscar realizes that, even though he is a lawyer, his lack of Spanish speaking ability will forever separate him from Mexico. The woman judge's admonition to Oscar after an altercation is significant as she treats him as any other *gringo*. She exclaims:

> If you're a lawyer, you should act like one. Cut your hair or leave this city. We get enough of your kind around here. You spend your money on the *putas* and then don't even have enough to pay your fines when you're caught with your pants down.[16]

Torn between the two cultures, Mexican and United States, Oscar finally realizes that he is a mixture of both, a Chicano. He also sees that his place is not in Mexico but in the foreground of the "Movement." He cannot return to the Aztec/Mexican heritage as a means of escape, but rather as a source of strength for his struggles in Aztlán which are just beginning.

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at both ends of the spectrum of human behavior (seldom in the middle) as untrustworthy, villainous, ruthless, tequila-drinking and philandering machos or else as courteous, devout, and fatalistic peasants who are to be treated more as pets than as people. More often than not Mexican Americans have been cast either as bandits or as lovable rogues; as hot blooded, sexually animated creatures or as passive humble servants." "The Chicano Renaissance," *Social Casework*, LII, No. 5 (1971), p. 296.

[14] *Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo*, p. 14.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

It is apparent in both *The Plum Plum Pickers* and in *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* that the awareness of an indigenous past is highly instrumental in the development of a Chicano frame of reference. Both Ramiro and Oscar seek to draw upon Mexican roots in crucial moments of self-assertion. The characterization of Ramiro is a more overt attempt to link him to the people of the Fifth Sun, while Oscar merely mentions the fact that he is *indio*. Both techniques are equally effective.

Where we see perhaps the finest synthesis of the four principal themes under consideration--identification with the Indian past, attitude toward American society, exploitation of farm labor, and life in the *barrio*--is in *Peregrinos de Aztlán*, where they converge to enhance the conceptual basis of the novel.

Peregrinos de Aztlán seeks to capture the essence of various aspects of the Chicano experience in the Southwest. Narrated from different points of view, the novel, mainly through the recollections of Loreto Maldonado, an elderly Yaqui Indian, accounts for decades of Chicano struggle for survival, respect, identity, and human dignity. Both rural and urban experiences are examined. Written in Spanish, *Peregrinos de Aztlán* differs from several other important Chicano works of fiction in that they are either in English or bilingual.

The novel begins in an unidentified Arizona border town as Loreto starts his daily task of washing cars. Throughout *Peregrinos de Aztlán* he will provide the reader with brief reminiscences which have had an impact upon his consciousness. Loreto's thoughts, dreams, and impressions are paramount to the narrative structure. Many of the novel's episodes are woven around recurring images separated in time and space. Loreto's subjectivity enables the reader to view society from the highest to the lowest stratum. Both exploiters and exploited are characterized, often through the use of types.

During the novelistic sequence, Loreto's roots are traced to the Yaqui, rather than to the Aztec, heritage of most Chicanos. However, the idea of Aztlán being the mythical homeland to the north, which theoretically includes Yaqui territory, links the two aspects of the Indian background to Chicano culture. Dual identification with the Indian past is highly significant to the world view projected in *Peregrinos de Aztlán*, especially in terms of exploitation.

Also within the concept of Aztlán, the narrator attempts to unify diverse elements of the exploited population.

> *Me ganó la ilusión y vi en la cosmica soledad del desierto Sonora Yuma, la República que habitaríamos los espaldas mojados, los indios sumidos a la desgrocia y los chicanos esclavizados. Sería la nuestra, la República de Mexicanos Escarnecidos.*
>
> [The illusion overcame me, and I saw in the cosmic solitude of the Sonora Yuma desert the Republic which we would inhabit,

> the wetbacks, the subdued Indians, and the enslaved Chicanos. It would be ours, The Republic of Ridiculed Mexicans.][17]

In this respect, *Peregrinos de Aztlán* embraces much of the background aspect of Chicano existence by treating this particular triad of human experiences--wetbacks, Indians, and Chicanos--within the context of the novel.

"*La ciudad fronteriza*" becomes a leit motif within the structure of the novel. At times, the city assumes the role of protagonist as it acts upon the lives of unfortunate human beings. For it is the city, created by man, which denies the essentials of existence to many of the "*peregrinos de Aztlán*."

Among the constant images flashing through the mind of Loreto is that of war/revolution. Through memories of episodes temporally and spatially separated, the reader is able to relive a certain amount of Loreto's participation in the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Images of the ferocious fighting and its effect upon himself and his companions haunt Loreto incessantly. His memories give insight into the particulars of the Yaqui nation's participation in the Revolution with the idea of "*Tierra y Libertad*," only to be betrayed by the different factions and almost completely destroyed as a people. The plight of Loreto, witness-narrator, serves as a comment on what happened to a once proud warrior and to a nation. Due to wounds suffered in the War, Loreto has been relegated to the status of washing cars for survival.

Through Loreto also, Frankie Pérez's death in Vietnam, decades later, is linked by the author to the theme of war. He shows how Chicanos, too, are manipulated by the system to fight other peoples' battles without bettering their own lot. The juxtapositioning of these episodes suggests the many similarities in the struggle for self-determination in different eras.

As reflected in *Peregrinos de Aztlán* the theme of exploitation covers many aspects of the Chicano experience. Whether in the whorehouses of border towns or in the fields of California or Arizona, it is one aspect of reality with which "*La Raza*" lives. One episode of the novel deals with the enslavement of "*la Malquerida*," *campesina*, in a whorehouse which is owned by the prestigious Dávalos de Cocuch family. Her brother subsequently avenges the family honor by eliminating Señor Dávalos de Cocuch. Unfortunately, "*la Malquerida's*" brother only does away with one of the symptoms, not the real causes.

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[17] Miguel Méndez M., *Peregrinos de Aztlán* (Tucson: Editorial Peregrinos, 1974), p. 101. Attempts at translation are my own. In a review of the novel, Juan Rodríguez has written: "*De esta manera el autor procura explayar la base de la condición chicana para incluir a todos aquéllos de la misma región, cuya circumstancia oprimida es semejante a la del chicano. Se trata, digámoslo de una vez, de una visión tercermundista.*" *Revista Chicano-Riqueña*, No. 3 (Verano, 1974), p. 52. I would like to thank Nicolás Kanellos for bringing this important point to my attention.

As in two of the works studied, the seasonal worker experience is given careful treatment. The odyssey of "*el buen* Chuco" qualifies as an essential part of the *peregrino* legacy in the United States. Out of El Paso and champion of all crop pickers, *el buen* Chuco began at the age of twelve, and twenty-three years later has nothing to show for his labors. Society, too, has failed to recognize his contributions. The narrator relates his last impression of *el buen* Chuco who is now receiving the wrath of citizens as he, in effect, resigns from society:

> *Las piedras rodando se encuentran. Pasados diez años, por mera casualidad, topé con el buen Chuco en el centro de Los Angeles, Aztlán. ¡Que acabaco! Arrugadito como una uva, mas pequeño todavía y más huilo. Lo reconocí porque en ese momento provocaba la indignación de varios peatones; pues se había sentado a media acera en posición fetal, con un sombrerón de palma encasquetado. Monologaba el buen Chuco. Al frente contemplaba un enorme dibujo iluminado que mostraba a un mexicano que duerme sentado, abrazado de las rodillas, recargado sobre un sahuaro, el sombrero sumido hasta las narices, calzado de huaraches.*
>
> --Dammed people so lazy.
> --All they think of is booze and sleep.
> --Yes, drink and do something . . . ¡*mañana*.
> --By the way, has someone called the cops?
> --*Mi buen Chuco, viejo amigo. ¿Cómo estás?*
>
> *Volteó el Chuco. En su cara envejecida se marcaban muchas fatigas. Olía a vino corriente.*
>
> --*¿Sabes qué carnal? . . . ése . . . huacha, el carnal que está ahí, ése, rolando contra el sahuaro . . . esos batos, camita, dicen que es guera, que no le atora al jale, que no trabaja,* you know, *pero ese carnal está así, ése, porque está mucho muy cansado y muy triste. ¿Sabes qué? Estos batos no saben, nomás hablan. El camarada fue champion en la pizca, ése, está así de puro aguitado; ni quien lo ayude, ni quien lo respete; como si fuera una pala, o un pico gastado que ya no sirve pa'madre . . .*
>
> [Rolling stones run into each other. Ten years passed; by pure luck, I ran into *el buen* Chuco in the middle of Los Angeles, Aztlán. How run down! Shriveled up like a grape, smaller than ever and even more decrepit. I recognized him because at that moment he was receiving the wrath of several pedestrians; fact is he was seated in the middle of the sidewalk in the fetal position with a large palm sombrero jammed down on his head. *El buen* Chuco was talking to himself. Straight ahead he was observing a large lighted sketch of a sleeping Mexican who was seated, hands clasped around his knees, as he leaned against a *sahuaro*, his hat pulled down to his nostrils, wearing *huaraches*.
>
> . . .
>
> El Chuco turned. His aged face reflected the many trials. He smelled of cheap wine.

> --You know what brother? that one . . . look, the brother who's here, that one . . . dozing against the *sahuaro* . . . those guys, my man, they say he's no good, that he doesn't carry his weight, that he doesn't work, you know, but that brother is that way because he's so tired and sad. Know something? Those cats just don't understand, they talk a lot. The man was a champion picker, that one, he's that way out of complete fatigue. Not even anyone to help or respect him; as if he were a worn out shovel or pick that isn't worth a damn . . . .][18]

El buen Chuco, who has spent a productive life as far as the exploiters are concerned, now finds that human dignity has escaped him. In the eyes of the majority, he is just another nameless face who responds to the stereotypes which others have formulated about him. This attitude is reflected in the hostile comments of the above scene in which *el buen* Chuco identifies with the portrait on the wall, realizing that their plight is similar. Hostility has forced him to turn inward for strength and understanding.

However, there is a contrast between what *el buen* Chuco thinks of himself and society's opinion. The accusers' comments reflect a lack of cultural awareness and tolerance. This disparity is made even more evident through the use of language. " . . . *ese carnal está así, ése, porque está mucho muy cansado y muy triste. ¿Sabes qué? Estos batos no saben, nomás hablan.*" Just as the general public has no way of understanding *el buen* Chuco's feelings, neither do they comprehend his language. Their inability to see beneath the surface has relegated *el buen* Chuco to the state of worthlessness. His past performances offer no salvation for his present state whereby he is no longer seen as a functional member of society. *El buen* Chuco is carted away as a drunk. Thus, society's insensitivity to human problems is dramatized.

Peregrinos de Aztlán goes far beyond the other novels under consideration in its use of Chicano language, which is an integral part of the overall experience. The effective use of combinations of Pachuco, Spanish, and English to convey attitudes, situations, and images of reality contributes greatly to the novel's uniqueness as Chicano literature.

Death also plays a thematically prominent role in *Peregrinos de Aztlán*. Within the context of the work, death is integrally bound up with survival. The examples of Chalito and Lorenzo Linares will serve to illustrate this point. Chalito, son of Lencho García del Valle, an aspiring *barrio* politician who does not attend to the needs of his family, contracts bronchitis while serving as surrogate father, and the results are tragic:

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[18] *Peregrinos de Aztlán*, pp. 37-8. Commenting on common stereotypes of Mexicans, Francisco Armando Ríos observes: "Across the length of the United States, the symbol of the Mexican is the *peón*, asleep against the wall of his adobe hut or at the foot of the saguaro cactus. At best, he wears only sandals. He is lazy and given to putting things off until *mañana*. This picturesque fellow and his inevitable burro adorn the menus and neon signs of restaurants and motels across the U.S. At some point in his life, the *peón* wakes up, takes a drink of tequila, puts on his wide-brimmed sombrero and emigrates to the United States--by swimming across the Rio Grande, of course." "The Mexican in Fact, Fiction, and Folklore," in *Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today*, Edward Simmen, ed. (New York: Mentor Books, 1972), pp. 80-1.

> *Algo le hacía creer al inocente que en unos cuantos días de lavar coches juntaría lo suficiente para librar a los suyos de la horrible miseria en que vivían. Por eso fué que ni él mismo se daba cuenta que por el afán de lavar más y más automóviles, se empapaba de agua y a poco ya traía la espalda y el pecho escurriendo. Durante el día con la fiebre del entusiasmo no lo notaba hasta ya oscuro que se iba a casa cuando la fuerza del viento le untaba la camisa mojada contra el cuerpo. . . .*
>
> [Something made the youngster believe that in only a few days of washing cars he would put together enough money to save his family from the horrible misery in which they were living. For that reason not even he realized that in his enthusiasm for washing a greater number of cars he was soaked with water, and after a while his back and chest were dripping. During the day with the heat of his enthusiasm he didn't pay it any attention--until it was already dark and the wind's force rubbed the wet shirt against his body. . . .][19]

In the struggle for survival, the innocent is also a victim. Chalito's episode reflects tragic aspects of what also happens to some of the child characters of Tomás Rivera, who also perish because in the struggle for survival there is not enough time for them to be cared for as children.

Chalito is forced to assume the role of bread winner at an early age. Ironically, his loss of innocence also entails a loss of life as the ill effects of exposure take their toll. Implicit in this episode is a critical attitude toward Lencho García y del Valle's irresponsibility in family matters.

Lorenzo Linares, "*el poeta*," is also involved in the struggle for survival as his episode, and that of his companions, involves crossing the Sonora Desert en route to the United States and work. But Lorenzo's dreams and poetic imagination are lost amidst the swirl of sand and sun as his body is left for the vultures. Alive in the memory of Lorenzo's friend, "*el vate*," however, is a letter written by Lorenzo's wife. The ambivalence of this letter reflects certain aspects of their plight:

> *Vate: dile que vuelva, que no se vaya, que aunque seamos mucho muy pobres, ahí iremos viviendo. Dile que no se vaya al extranjero, que se queda en nuestro pueblo. Pero . . . qué te va a hacer caso si dice que con el dinero que gane hará de sus hijos doctores y licenciados; que no se nos volverá a morir otro niño por falta de medicinas, ni volverá el fantasma del hambre. . . .*

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[19] *Peregrinos de Aztlán*, p. 25.

> [Bard: Please tell him to return, not to go away, that although we may be very poor, here we can go on living. Tell him not to go off to a strange land, that he must stay at home. But . . . how is he going to pay attention to you if he says that with the money he would earn he's going to make his children doctors and lawyers; that no more of our babies are going to die from lack of medicine, and neither will hunger's ghost return. . . .][20]

Succinctly, Lorenzo's motivations are presented--hunger, poverty, and dreams. Unfortunately, Lorenzo is not equipped to meet the desert's challenge. Therefore, life and artistic talent are both stamped out in the search for basic necessities for his family. Ironically, their situation is probably worse after his death than before.

The entire desert experience of the *espalda mojado* is related via the stream of consciousness technique. This experience is timeless in nature and forms a part of the collective *espalda mojado* existence over the years. Lorenzo's tragedy is thereby related to the desert trials of many before him and to many who will come later.

There are many cliches in the novel which are both comical and serious. These devices are most effective in their portrayal of aspects of Anglo society, such as the obsession with money and the breakdown of the family structure. The Fox family typifies the author's attitude toward this particular segment of the social structure.

Mr. "Foxye" lives the upper class experience as he relentlessly pursues riches while his son Bobby drops out of life and turns to drugs, and his wife showers her affection on the dog. Their reluctance to have more children is made permanent by a vasectomy. Mr. "Foxye" becomes a millionaire, but at the same time loses his family and masculinity which symbolically represents the demise of Anglo society.

The hypocrisy of the highly religious MacCane family is also dramatized as they pretend to be protectors of the Chicano, only to keep him near the subsistence level while they prosper from his labors. Thus, the inequities of the socio-economic system are subjected to critical scrutiny.

The question of identity, evident in the other works, is raised on numerous occasions in many different ways by the protagonists of *Peregrinos de Aztlán*. Relationships between the United States and Mexican aspects of Chicano existence is foremost among their problems. The street murmurs which Loreto perceives are filled with fragments dealing with this motif.

> *En la* school, *carnal, te echan la pompa andar si teoriqueas en chicano. ¿Sabes qué carnal? Pos qué hace uno; acá pochos y allá* greasers.

> [In school, brother, they give you the shaft if you rap in Chicano. Know something brother? What's a fellow gonna do;

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

pochos over here and greasers over there.]^{21}

Language and acceptance by the two cultures are the issues involved in this instance. Non-acceptance of Chicano language in Anglo schools and the derogatory term, "greasers," show aspects of intolerance from the Anglo point of view from whence comes most of the opposition. Therefore, the Chicano is the man in the middle, culturally speaking. On the one hand he wants to rely on his linguistic heritage, while on the other he knows that to some this is not acceptable. An essential point stressed in the novel is a lack of communication on a human level.

One frequent criticism of Chicano literature, as Theresa McKenna points out,[22] has been its inability to bridge the gap between myth and fact. Since the literature is socially oriented, most critics normally expect the fictional world to mirror happenings in the "real" world or vice versa, which is part of the function of literature. *Peregrinos de Aztlán* goes a long way toward solving the myth/fact dilemma. By situating his novel basically in an unidentified locale and recounting anonymous episodes which are timeless in nature, but which nevertheless are readily identified as aspects of the Chicano experience, the author has created an autonomous world which exists for its own sake and not for the sake of society.

Literarily, *Peregrinos de Aztlán* explores many facets of Chicano reality. As a novel, it seeks to reveal the particulars of the general experience in the United States. Techniques, themes, structure, and language combine to make the work a coherent whole, while bringing into focus some aspects of the Chicano experience. *Peregrinos de Aztlán*'s effectiveness lies in its ability to artistically dramatize the plight of second class citizens, thereby expressing a need for change.

The works examined here have revealed certain themes, attitudes, and modes of expression common to Chicano literature. *Peregrinos de Aztlán,* because of its artistic complexity, raises the question of direction for the Chicano novel in terms of audience. The adage that it takes a complex style to convey the complexities of experience certainly holds true in this case. Technique, however, does not obscure the nature of the work itself, since *Peregrinos de Aztlán,* just as *The Plum Plum Pickers, . . . y no se lo tragó la tierra,* and *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* give valuable insights into the nature of the existence of the Chicano.

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[22] "Until a Chicano can create the Chicano with a pen; people and their reality in literature that transcends time and space and genuinely lives, as we know it does because we live it; until an author grasps Myth and Fact; until then will the Chicano reflect himself in literature." "Three Novels: An Analysis," *Aztlán*, 1, No. 2 (1970), pp. 55-6.

THE SOCIAL MESSAGE IN CHICANO FICTION: TOMÁS RIVERA'S . . . AND THE EARTH DID NOT PART AND RAYMOND BARRIO'S THE PLUM PLUM PICKERS

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The two literary works under consideration have been recognized by critics as outstanding achievements in Chicano prose fiction. Both belong in different degrees to the genre of "literature engageé." *The Plum Plum Pickers* has been considered as the ultimate objection to the abominable exploitation of the Mexican-American field worker. Rivera's collection of short stories, less overt in its criticism, carries nonetheless as powerful a protest in its social message. Both works (or novels, as Tomás Rivera's collection is considered within the genre of the novel) represent "poiesis" and "mimesis." . . . *and the earth did not part* creates its own reality and, within a poetic ambiance, succeeds in framing the realistic environment of the migrant Mexican-American farm worker, his exploitation, suffering, anguish, and aspirations. It is written with a subtle and artistic blend of the softest poetic tunes and the realities of a somber and cruel world. Its protest becomes deeper because of its universal and transcendental nature. Raymond Barrio, on the other hand, relying on the most modern and avant-garde literary resources, tries to mirror and recreate the reality of the Mexican-American farm laborer with stark realism. He is definitely striving for the representation of the "illusion of reality" as described by Wayne Booth in his classic book, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*.[1] Despite the obvious and recognized artistic value of . . . *and the earth did not part* and *The Plum Plum Pickers*, their merit must be also attributed to the qualities of their themes, within the context of Chicano literature. They both lend strength to the literary Chicano "corpus," destined to uphold the "raza" and Chicano rights, to arouse the national conscience and to enlighten the lethargic and indifferent American public. Precisely because these literary compositions are artistic, they accomplish their goals; they attain a high position within the fictional genre, but they are also Chicano banners.

. . . *and the earth did not part* is a collection of fourteen short stories bound into a unifying structure by the theme of the first and the fourteenth narrations, where the protagonist interacts with subjects and characters of the other twelve.

The topics range from child labor, enforced by a cruel boss who does not permit the children to drink water except at appointed times and who accidentally shoots and kills a young boy, to the poignant recordings of the thoughts and musings of a group of Mexican-American migrant workers who are being transported in a crowded truck. In inside views, the omniscient author shows them considering their plight, present and future, as they face their destinies and those of their children.

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[1] Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961).

Other stories deal with archaic interpretations of the Catholic religion and with superstition, both aspects that act as restraints in the development of the Mexican-American. The inequities of the educational system regarding the Chicano child are explored. In "It Is Painful," fear and insecurity grip a young boy as he faces the school authorities and his peers in the classroom. When showing the boy's aspirations, the narration portrays the secluded and limited life afforded to the young Chicano. "Christmas Eve" depicts the bewilderment of a Mexican-American woman when she has to mingle in the throng of the alien city. Confused and sick she chooses some toys for her children in the dime store, for which she neglects to pay. She is promptly arrested and taken to jail. The story critiques the lack of understanding and compassion of the Anglo authorities. It is, however, in the title story, ". . . and the earth did not part," that the social outrage towards the Chicanos is made evident. It is a poignant account of the plight of the Chicano field workers, laboring from childhood through adulthood, suffering from tuberculosis and sunstroke, and receiving only primitive domestic remedies instead of medical aid. Death seems to be the only hope awaiting an endless life of toil, as it is expressed rebelliously by the young protagonist of the story in a dialogue with his father:

> "Why should we always be tied to the dirt, half buried in the earth like animals without any hope of any kind? You know that the only thing we can look forward to is coming over here every year. And as you yourself say, one does not rest until one dies. I guess that is the way my uncle and my aunt felt, and that's the way father will eventually feel!"
>
> "That's the way it is, son. Only death can bring us rest."
>
> "But, why us?"[2]

The boy's words of advice to his brothers and sisters on how to protect themselves against the inhuman working conditions convey a judgment of the cruel employers: "Just drink a lot of water every few minutes even if the boss gets angry. If not you will get sick."[3] Despite his warnings, the youngest child becomes sick, and the youth again questions the pathetic moral values in an unjust and cruel world: "Why my father, and now my little brother? He is barely nine years old. Why? He has to work like an animal, tied to the ground. Father, Mother, and he, my little brother."[4]

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[2] Tomas Rivera, . . . *and the earth did not part* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1971), p. 76.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Notwithstanding these cries of despair, Rivera and Barrio, as we will see later, avoid the manicheistic and totally fatalistic approach. In ". . . and the earth did not part" there is a gleam of hope as the father and child get better, negating the fears of divine punishment harbored by the young boy who has cursed God. In other stories, Mexican-American characterizations include thieves and exploiters of their own people.

The Plum Plum Pickers, as the title signifies, deals with the life of the migrant fruit picker. The social message permeates all the components of the narrative. The theme of endless toil and monotony is implicit and explicit in the reiterative presentation of the title, a stylistic device that the author employs effectively throughout the novel. It conveys the powerful and inescapable problem of eternal exertion, injustice and frustration for the oppressed Mexican field worker. The plot through which this theme is unveiled is centered on the lives of Manuel and Lupe Gutierrez and their three young children, as they move and relate to other characters within their microcosm. The message of social injustice appears at its zenith when the author reveals the inner thoughts of Lupe and Manuel through interior monologues. Early in the novel we can appreciate the deep pathos, depression, and desperation in the anguished existence of these people as they pick fruit relentlessly, until all sense of proportion has vanished. Lupe muses over her life, moving from Texas--where Manuel was arrested for picketing--to the Santa Clara Valley in search of a "little better, a less bitter way to live and to work and to find a little joy."[5] But she finds her hopes thwarted and must face again the bitter reality:

> She looked up through the smudge in the window at the gray sky, at all those gaunt silent plum trees outside, and prayed silently herself. She couldn't help pitying herself. The world seemed like a fury and all the gringos therein intent on lying and stealing and having their special fun and everything they wanted in huge carload lots, wholesale, special. And and and here and she couldn't even get herself a new dress. Not even a cheap dress. She wouldn't even be able to make one, with baby Cati taking all her time. She was trapped. Would she rob a stage? She didn't know what she'd do. Maybe they wanted her to become a cheap prostitute, like Phyllis Ferguson, who seemed so happy at her profession, making so many men happy, and so much easy money. Well, if she did it, she'd be a good one. She knew how.
>
> But--she couldn't.
>
> She kept on dressing. Would any of her dreams ever come true? No? Would she get a new dress? No? Ever? Never? When hair grew on trees, perhaps. When would that be, Manuel, dear God, *ay dios mio*, Manuel out there, *dios, dios dios*, picking all those tender cots, everybody and Roberto's crew, picking like filching idiots in the hot maniacal sun to the limit all summer long, storing away like squirrels for the hungry fall hunger and the starveling winter, those long cold days, and for the nice

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[5] Raymond Barrio, *The Plum Plum Pickers* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1969), p. 10.

> rich people like the Turners, picking apricots, picking berries, picking pickles, picking luscious pears, picking prickly pears too, picking prunes, picking peaches, picking poison, picking grapes, stooping over to pick ripe tomatoes too, Ponderosa and those meaty tomatoes.[6]

Besides illustrating the theme, the above quotation serves also to exemplify the alliterative and reiterative style of the narrative that I mentioned before. The technique has two functions, to emphasize a point or idea and to represent symbolically the endlessness of a process.

Though Manuel is mostly shown as a stoic and reserved character, almost resigned to his destiny and to bear the burden of his wife's complaints, his true thoughts also surface at the end of the novel. In the eyes of the reader, he gains in stature as he appears helplessly wedged between an oppressive socio-economic system and the pressing needs of his family, that he must somehow satisfy:

> Manuel was willing to put an end to this endless moving about. But how? How could he? He once saw three tiny children suffering from heat from fever and from dehydration in San Joaquin Valley, locked inside a hot car, a sunbroiled car, untended, while their parents picked the melons. He had seen grown men faint in the rows. He had experienced thirst so terrible it drove him to the edge of madness. He had seen men and women too, squatting and urinating in their clothing, letting it dry in the day's heat rather than stop their picking, for fear their bosses would fire them or not rehire them. He knew that wasn't right. But what could he ever say? It wasn't human or decent. What could he do? Who would take their side?
>
> . . . .
>
> What kind of living was this? Gypsies. What of future [sic] did they have? Slipstream. If not for themselves, for their children then? None. And what kind of past did they have? None also. Their past had been sniped away from them. What of his fathers and all his fathers' fathers? Eaten up alive by revolution, scourged by hunger in that other motherland, emaciated by famine, shrunken by need, ground into dust, and despised by fate. Here at least, here in California's paradise, he could pick to heart's content in summer in the glut that was planted. At least he was able to work all he wanted to, in summer, to eat all he wanted to, to feed his family, and for that he was grateful, like an animal. But even that had its price. They lived like animals. No, worse than the animals. *Peor que los animales.* No refrigeration. What beast lived in its own filth?[7]

In point-counterpoint style, the author intersperses this monologue with lines written sarcastically in verse form containing prosaic advice to the pickers. These lines are simply interspersed in the prose narration, cutting the sentences in half. Other characters in the novel also reflect upon their anxieties and burdensome lives. The theme, considered from many points of view and different descriptions, is neither overbearing nor repetitious due to the skillful stylistic approach. Besides the techniques already mentioned, such as alliteration, reiteration, the mixing of prose and poetry with respective somber and sarcastic moods, the author infuses dynamism into the narrative by juxtaposing dialogue in a strictly dramatic form and description in the third person by an omniscient narrator. Throughout the novel, leaflets with instructions to pickers, reproductions in black ink of crude graffiti, and articles from the local paper referring to the Mexican-American farm workers mix freely within the narrative sequence. Asyndeton, used without separating commas, serves to emphasize the thematic mode symbolizing endlessness. At other times, polysyndeton is used for the same purpose. The style often becomes cryptic and eliptic, conveying the thesis in terse short sentences, but the theme always remains the same, whether viewed philosophically or practically. Chapter eighteen starts with the following sentence: "Life is like a river, flowing relentlessly"; and ends with the dictum: "And the Guadalupe River kept right on flowing on, across the immense profitable salt flats and into the Bay. Relentlessly."[8]

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

Living conditions of the migrant worker within his shack are revealed in minute and realistic detail. The cramped quarters, the food, the lack of sanitary facilities, the filth of the public latrines, and all aspects of a regimented life arouse sympathy for the downtrodden laborer. Reality presented in such a style constantly pierces the perception of the reader who is continuously made aware that he is witnessing greed, injustice, inequity, and, above all, the suffering of people who are trapped by our society.

Contrasting with the decrepit conditions which surround the Mexican-American in his shack, the author presents the glorious valleys, pitting man in his misery against a beautiful nature he cannot enjoy. This re-emphasizes the theme that is then transformed into a transcendental lament, not man just grieving for constitutional rights but man grieving for an inherent right to happiness.

The characterization also portrays a microcosm in which the ruling class is mainly motivated by greed. This is typified by Mr. Turner, the owner of the Western Compound, and by his subordinate, Mr. Quill, the general manager. Mr. Turner, a selfish and abominable bigot, thinks that the best method of maintaining the Mexican-Americans in a status quo is to keep them uneducated. Mr. Quill, repulsive in body and soul, is another wretched human being who exploits the laborers and who Turner exploits in turn. The people who Mr. Quill crucified hang him, and finally, poetic justice is achieved.

As it was noted earlier, Barrio avoids manicheistic polarizations, also. Among the Anglos, he includes Mr. Schroeder who protects the workers and whose views differ entirely from those of Turner; he advocates education for the Mexican laborer and a working schedule that would permit him to amuse and enjoy himself. Among the Mexican-Americans, the author presents Roberto Morales, the ruthless contractor who bleeds his brothers white.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

The novel is not totally fatalistic. There is one family, the Delgados, Pepe and Serafina, who have started as pickers and who have managed to prosper.

That organization within the ranks of the workers could defeat the unjust system, from the hated Texas Ranger to the individual or corporate owner of a field, is the social message suggested. The final note in this powerful book opens an avenue of hope: Mr. Schroeder, owner of a nursery, hires Manuel. Lupe and Manuel, hence, believe that their impossible dream, the end of their migration and the hope for education for their children, has come true.

Stressing different elements of the unjust social system, Tomás Rivera and Raymond Barrio have simultaneously enlightened their readers about the ills of the society and impressed the necessity of equal rights for Chicanos.

PARADISE AND PLUMS: APPEARANCE AND REALITY IN BARRIO'S THE PLUM PLUM PICKERS

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The setting for most of the action in Raymond Barrio's *The Plum Plum Pickers* is the Western Grande Migrant Compound owned by Mr. Frederick C. Turner. Mr. "friendly adroit Turner," known to the Mexican-American fruit pickers as "*el Gusano Verde*," the green worm, has worked his way up the good old American way from a poor boy doing odd jobs from house to house until he is now one of the richest orchard owners in California. Hard work, greed, unscrupulous business ethics, and his wife's inheritance made his success story possible. His earlier career included jobs as a cowboy extra for Hollywood; in this career his favorite image of himself was that of Black Bart, the outlaw. Now that he is wealthy, he has become more and more concerned with creating a favorable public image. He has allowed himself certain eccentric hobbies, one of which is transforming the Western Grande Compound into a "real" western town with all the migrant shacks having false fronts. These "pseudo shops"[1] are an appropriate symbol, for they hide the reality of Turner's greed, Quill's self-pity, and the misery and hopes of the Gutierrezes, Delgados, and other migrant workers living behind this fantasy with their own dreams, nightmares, broken lives, and hopes for a better future. One of the few reminders of reality in this bizarre world of make-believe created by the pseudo-actor Turner is the hangem oak behind No. 12, the Bar-Noon Saloon; hanging from this authentic hangman's tree is a straw effigy of Black Bart.

The reality of this tree with its effigy swaying in the wind reminds the reader of its true history and the reality of death and unhappiness, however camouflaged, behind the appearance of the Western Grande Compound, called a "pickers' paradise" (p. 2). Raymond Barrio has created a novel structured around the appearance of paradise and the reality of plums ripening to death or fulfillment. The novel is a web of appearances, facades, dreams, hopes, fantasies, and aspirations that constantly contrast with the reality of living nightmares, disappointments, and death, all revealing the greed and injustice existing in the agricultural sector of the United States. It is the rhetoric of paradise, the false image of equality, the facade of the "Horatio Alger" story, the cunning appearance of capitalism and good business practices, and the fantasy of a horticultural paradise that create the world of harsh realities of the migrant workers' day-to-day existence. This theme can be most clearly seen by examining the major characters in the novel, all caught somewhere between the appearance of paradise and the reality of misery and death.

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[1] Raymond Barrio, *The Plum Plum Pickers* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 163. All future references are to this edition and will be included in the body of the text.

The novel opens with a loud "Bang bang. Crash" disturbing the troubled dreams of Morton J. Quill, manager and overseer of the Western Grande. He has been dreaming, as usual, about driving a hearse. The noise of reality brings him back, not only from sleep, but from a kind of life-in-death where he was listening to "all the underworld noises infiltrating his tender sleep" (p. 1). Ironically, his return to real life from the underworld is not an escape with an Aeneas/Odysseus-like vision of truth; it is a return to the reality of his own hell and the hell that he manages for Turner. He is the "blubbery majesty" of this hell who is awakened by the sounds of protest and rebellion against his rule. But he is blind both to the protest and the reality of its meaning, as well as to the meaning of his recurring dream. Morton J. Quill cannot understand either his life or his dreams. As he gets up and stares into the darkness, he seems to be "testing his prescient powers, as though foreshadowing his own death, as though plums could be prevented from ripening relentlessly" (p. 1). Quill is forever unable to see into the darkness of which he is a part and which he has helped create; he cannot see his individual fate and the fate of all men. He must surely die unprepared. Pepe Delgado, standing out in the dark after a night of drinking and wenching, asks, "Whatsa matter, el miserable pal?" (p. 1). Quill can only refer ignorantly to the noise that awakened him and to the note signed Joaquin M. A wiser man than this "giant gaseous burp" might have realized that the "pickers' paradise" which he considers his own private domain has a logic of its own. The reality of that logic is that plums must ripen, that the oppressed must fight back somehow to gain dignity and identity, that blubbery tyrannical majesty must fall, and that in the life cycle death is real.

Yet Quill is only a pseudo-logician, fooling himself with arguments and cliches learned from Turner, Rat Barfy, Governor Howlin Mad Nolan, and all the other defenders of the faith. The logic and rhetoric of paradise are simple and foolproof, for they are blind to the deception involved: this logic argues that the greed of the capitalist is necessary for the prosperity of the worker and that those "who have to meet payrolls" are really the saviors of the world. It is the logic that claims to help the worker, yet despises him as lazy and ungrateful. Mr. Quill spouts this logic as he defends the run-down shacks of the migrant workers against housing inspectors and housing codes:

> What in hades did they want them to do. Crap outside. Die. Great scott, what the devil was wrong with a few leaky pipes. Those deranged inspectors. Just because they had running water. Blind. No heart. Yap yap yapping. They really did not care. Weren't these migrants much better off precisely because of Mr. Turner's limitless benevolence. The Western Grande . . . was a godsend to most of the riffraff coming by here from Texas. . . . weren't these workers human beings too. . . . What was the good of raising good, fat, healthy, plump prune trees next to the garbage pits if you didn't also raise enough prune pickers? . . . And wasn't it good for them to go out into all that fresh natural air and free sunshine, though. (pp. 4-5)

Rat Barfy, the radio commentator Quill helps support with his weekly dime, is the public voice of this "profound logic" (p. 26). He is able to prove that equality does not exist because he says it does not exist; he refutes Abraham Lincoln, the U.S. Constitution, and the Supreme Court Justices by linking them with "pinko freakybop nincompoops" and attacks their social reforming schemes that will destroy the workers' cornucopian paradise (p. 26). Of course, Mr. Barfy is correct: equality does not exist. But his message is that it should not exist, for equality is equated with socialism and all the other dangerous "isms." It is the acceptance of this logic that creates the appearance of truth and ensures that equality will never exist.

Turner, of course, is king of the pseudo-logicians, "non disputatum" (p. 48). He is the master of a free enterprise system based on the logic of slavery where the rich get richer, all for the benefit of America and the workers. He protects the pickers from their own greed, from social reform intellectuals, from education, from everything that might harm their happy-go-lucky existence. And he protects his psyche with "somersaults" and "crooked leaps" of his mind.

> The pickers are perfectly happy with the way things are. I never met a picker who didn't say he was happy working for me. They all say they'd be happy to be my slave. And believe me I've asked hundreds of them. Thousands. They are the happiest people on the face of the earth. That's why I like going to Acapulco. (p. 48)

The author's irony is obvious, of course; however, it is not obvious to the Turners and Quills who deceive themselves more often than the world. What is even less obvious to Turner is that he is sterile, cut off from reality. The symbol of this is his mansion situated among acres of fruit trees; it has eighteen empty rooms devoid of children, is hidden from view by bushes called "rapacious" (p. 46), and is guarded by wild dogs. Here Turner lives with his wife, Jean Angelica Turner, who also wanted a career on stage. Her stage is now her mansion where she acts the angelic part her name suggests, doing good works and living a tormented neurotic inner life. Their tragedy is that they are trapped in their own cage of self-deception.

Barrio is aware that the trap of the free enterprise system springs both ways. Behind the appearance of free enterprise lives the slave worker who must "stoop and pull and pluck and spoon./Again and again./And bay at the moon" (p. 158). The workers become trapped animals; their dreams turn to nightmares, and their hopes turn into fantasies. They are all forced to accept the logic of the Turners like Serafina Delgado; to rebel like Ramiro Sanchez; or to dream, fantasize, and search for identity like Manuel and Lupe Gutierrez.

Pepe and Serafina Delgado are better off than most of the workers, for Pepe has a regular job in the cannery, they own a home, and their children attend Drawbridge High School. Prune picking is relatively easy, and the entire family (except Danny) earns extra money this way. It appears that these Chicano workers have escaped the trap and attained the good life. In reality, however, it is too late for Pepe and Serafina: they have lost contact with the earth and the processes of life and have been twisted by the Anglo image of success and the fear of poverty. Pepe has accepted the image of the lazy drunken Mexican, running crews for the bandito Roberto Morales and beating his children. He is lost between two cultures. The juices and joy of life have been squeezed out of him. In this case, the exploited have lost their souls. Serafina, who is constantly protecting Danny's *machismo*, expresses her acceptance of the logic of the workers' paradise; she seeks only to exist, to continue the status quo:

> She didn't like all that radical talk among her *compañeros* about how the rich ought to be stripped of every dollar and every hectare of land. That was terrible. The rich had earned what they got. . . . And without them, where would she, and all other poor families be? . . . They should be grateful, not critical, her *compadres*. How ungrateful they were!! (p. 72)

More typical of the pickers' existence are the lives of Manuel and Lupe Gutierrez, the main characters in the novel. Both are trapped in a dream world of fantasies and hopes as they try to provide for their three children and maintain human dignity and worth. Both are able to defy their animal existence, to assert their humanity at least once in the novel, and to continue to some extent a genuine search for identity and meaning.

Lupe exists almost entirely in a world of appearances and dreams. Her life is "*un sueño loco*" (p. 15), a series of "dreams with memories" (p. 13), desires for a "clean dream" (p. 13), visions of freedom from hunger and terror, "strange inner images," living nightmares (p. 10), "happy dreams," "twisted dreams" (p. 37), dreams that are "constantly chipped away" (p. 90), and even dream-like prayers in the midst of furious picking that seem only a part of the entire "bad dream" (p. 156).

This dream world, forced upon her by frustration and fear, is part of her trapped existence. Her "living nightmare" consists of a constant fear of being arrested, of her children being taken from her, of Manuel's death, of deportation, of pregnancy, and of filth and rot. Lupe, in her "Drawbridge dreamshack" (p. 159), is constantly mopping, always fighting the dirt and bugs, forced to exist in memories and fantasies while living fears constantly intrude. They intrude in the day-to-day reality as in the daytime nightmare in which she believes her two children, Manuelito and Mariquita, have been plowed underground by a tractor working outside their shack. In her frantic search for her children, we have a good image of the agricombines, "the big monster machine" that devours and plows under the innocent lives of the migrant workers. This is a machine whose operators cannot, will not, understand what it is doing. Lupe, over the roar of the tractor driven by "one of Mr. Turner's regular hands," attempts to find out if the driver has seen her children. The driver is watching her, unaware of what she is saying, unaware of her terror and her panic. The business/machine age has been separated from the earth and the people; it remains blind to the emotions of life and to the reality of human love, fear, and death.

Although Lupe finds her children "safe," neither she nor they can escape their paradisaical existence. They are, as Lupe realizes, like "helpless fish trapped in tanks, writhing and helpless, like trapped turtles in a rocky pool, screaming brotherhood, gulping for air" (p. 157). It is no wonder that Lupe at times feels that "all nature was so filthy rotten" (p. 159) and that she has recurring Kafkaesque nightmares of being overwhelmed by the bugs and filth of her day-to-day life. Manuel often has to awaken her, screaming and moaning from dreams that merely repeat the reality of her daytime fears. "Ants and roaches and earwigs and hundreds of mice scurrying around her, from under the house, cockroaches getting inside the coffee pot, fighting small wars over luscious scraps of fresh ripe garbage. . . . fattening on the poison, and her children kept getting smaller as though they weren't getting enough food" (p. 160).

Paradoxically, Lupe is not only trapped by her dreams, which repeat the terrors of her life, but she also uses dreams to escape her daily existence. Symbolic of their real, shoddy world is the flea market they attend one hot July day. Here, among useless wares, among the appearance of values and bargains, they seek some kind of value, some kind of happiness for the moment. For the children it is still easy to be deceived and find meaning--a "sad rag doll" for Mariquita and a harmonica for Manuelito are enough (p. 74).

For Lupe, trapped into the cage of necessities, such a solution is impossible. She can only watch as everything is bought: a mixer, a lamp, a huge pewter soup tureen. In this carnival of values, Lupe is lost until she comes to the ceramic stand; here she can momentarily fulfill her dreams of a better world, a paradise represented by the statues of Greek maidens suggesting innocence and angelic purity. As she looks at these "white goddesses," she is tantalized by all the things the Anglo world represents and all she has missed. She "dreamed of a paradise where she might hold herself slim and erect and virginal all over again" (p. 77). However, her love and longing are mixed with hate, for the reality is that she is dark skinned and that she will never be slim and virginal again. In her confusion she revolts against the white world, the statues, wishing to "grind them back to dust" (p. 77). Significantly, she buys only an urn for the life and certain death of her avocado plant. On the way home, she ironically uses the urn to carry life-giving water, not to her plant, but to their over-heated car; in the process the urn is cracked, and this "monstrous vessel of their conscience" (p. 84) becomes another piece of junk for the poor to accumulate. The Edenic paradise of Lupe's dreams is cracked by the serpent of necessity. Finally, a comic-devil of a service station attendant with a snake-like hissing, imitative of the water hose, cons them out of their last few dollars, and Lupe, in tears, returns to her dreamshack without her Venus.

Generally unable to understand Lupe's frustrations and dreams, Manuel, in contrast to his wife, is the innocent man of labor and the earth. He seeks his existence in the joy of working and, like his forebear, Gaspar de Portola, in the simple mystery of life (p. 59). Working in the field, he is "a living model for da Vinci's outstretched man. Adam heeding God's moving finger" (p. 59). Occasionally Manuel also dreams, but his dreams are primarily practical ones of physical comforts, of cool drinks and soft, tender music. However, even this simple Adamic man of innocence cannot escape the punishing reality of his work. His existence is "locked to hunger," and he finds himself unable to escape his bestial imprisonment. This Adam in paradise becomes a beast, a brute, and, in a terrifying image, the author turns the neat row of apricot trees into the bars of a hellish jail (p. 60).

As difficult as it is for Manuel and Lupe to find dignity, they continue to seek it; they refuse to abandon their quest for reality and truth as they struggle against the uneven odds. Manuel defies the crew boss Roberto Morales' attempt to cheat the workers and experiences a feeling of honor and pride at being more than a dumb beast. He is able to recognize his trap and continues to ask: "Am I not a man?" (p. 129). When, following the death of his friends, he enters a pet shop in a drunken state and looks at the other animals, the only thing he is able to do with any dignity, suggests the narrator, is to vomit.

Lupe demands recognition of her humanity in small but important ways. In an act of defiance which gains for her a moment of being real and alive, Lupe refuses to use the hand-me-down clothes of Mrs. Turner. Symbolically, she continues to water her avocado plant, a suggestion of life and hope among the snares and death-like sterility of the Western Grande Compound.

In spite of Barrio's recognition of the presence of overwhelming oppression in the world, he believes in the reality of love and revolution as forces that can challenge society's oppressors. Paradise may never exist in the relentlessly ripening plum orchards, but a real possibility for change in the future is represented in the characters of Margarita Delgado and Ramiro Sanchez. Margarita is a dream-like child of seventeen who learns to love Ramiro, the rebel who rejects the appearance of the Western Grande paradise and its false dream life. Early in the novel, Ramiro revolts against a life built on deceptions and appearances. He "had already invested all the dream life he'd ever want. What he wanted now was to live, to really live" (p. 18). By the age of twenty-four, he has learned of brutality and oppression (Texas Ranger style), and he has neither illusions nor a false vision of possibilities. He knows his current life and the life of his people are not paradise; this is not a perfect existence. The "*grito*" of Padre Hidalgo still echoes in his soul (p. 19), and he plans to change things. He has his desires and "dreams of warmth" (p. 99), but his search for home is founded on an idea and a true vision, not a glittering mirage.

Ramiro is, likely, Barrio's spokesman; he is willing to fulfill his dreams through revolution, if necessary. His mestizo heritage is his strength; he is Tenochtitlan, "a god again" (p. 103). Ramiro is not blinded by "isms"; he sees his future based on human values, hating anything that detracts from his manhood (p. 186). However, in spite of the author's apparent intentions, the heritage of Zapata, Murrieta, and Padre Hidalgo seems reduced to a restatement of the worn-out American dream after Ramiro declares himself to Margarita. With unintentional irony, Ramiro speaks of a future in which he can make the "American system a human system, to grow, to save, to plan, to plant, to buy, to invest. Invest in futures" (p. 193). However, Ramiro still knows that a revolution is necessary against the Turners and Quills who have built this plum paradise. It is their greed that has enslaved his people.

In the final chapter, we return for a last view of Quill. He has finally received a raise of $1.50 a week, which has given him the courage to confiscate some of the migrant workers' belongings for debts. His exuberance in his new sense of power prompts him to fantasize his future as the "Santa Claus of Santa Clara County . . . Captain Q. Q. Quill . . . Mayor of Drawbridge" (pp. 199-200). When he comes down from his vision, he manages to get into bed, and, as in Chapter One, he is startled by crashing and smashing sounds. Getting up to investigate, he is captured by his fate in the form of unknown tormentors. Throughout the novel, Quill has been unable to hear or see his fate relentlessly pursuing him because he has only listened to his self-pity and to the logic of paradise. "*El Grito*" is everywhere, but Quill cannot hear it. Thus his dream of death becomes a reality, and the hangem tree becomes his destiny. Quill, who so envied Turner's role as Black Bart, now replaces the hanging dummy; his grinning, slowly twisting corpse rotates there to remind us, although Turner is still blind to this reality, that the natural process goes on: slavery leads to revolt, and life ends in death. Even in the Western Grande Paradise the plums go "right on ripening. Relentlessly" (p. 201).

In his presentation of the appearance of paradise opposed to the reality of misery and death, Barrio has revealed more than just the physical miseries involved. He has peeled off the mask of benevolent capitalism; behind the mask he has discovered a twisted world where the orchard owners, accepting appearance as their reality, have lost contact with the higher reality of man's dignity and human worth and of man's place in the cycle of life and death. He has also discovered that the workers are forced into reacting as they struggle for identity and existence.

Barrio uses an important symbol to summarize his theme: the summer sun. Margarita, looking at the sun, imagines it an orange topaz or the jewel of an engagement ring her princely lover is bringing across the heavens as he comes to rescue her from her misery and longing. But "the yolk burst," and her dream turns into burning reality. She cannot continue to look at the sun: it is too bright, too searing (p. 70). Manuel likewise gets up one morning to breathe the sweet air and to hope, but the "hot orange ball" of a sun rules again, and his reality is to toil in the burning heat (p. 153). The summer sun has risen many times with its appearance of hope and a new life, but often it has brought to the worker merely the hot day of reality, a reality which is too harsh to be admitted and yet which cannot be escaped.

PART IV

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

The final collection of this volume deals with "Historical Perspectives" in the development of minority cultures. Both Helen Bannan and Wilbert Ahern have challenged the claims of whites who, in the guise of concern and friendship, damaged Indian culture due to a combination of their ethnocentrism and ignorance. Ahern's paper concentrates on Indian policy reformers whose lack of understanding and sensitivity destroyed what might have been good intentions, as they not only failed in their assimilationist goals, but also eroded Native-American culture by helping to divest the tribes of their lands. Lewis Carroll's *Alice* is instructive, as Carmichael and Hamilton observed in *Black Power*, in that those who define the terms of "assimilation" retain the power to destroy the culture of those who they wish to "assimilate." With an imperial mentality, the reformers sought to use education as their instrument. As Ahern observes, education became the "device through which the white man's desertion of the negro and his annihilation of the Indian was made more tolerable." Bannan's study, likewise, concludes that women reformers' attitudes were based upon a series of ethnocentric and ignorant premises about the superiority of white American values. They accepted their own stereotypes of true white womanhood: piety, purity, and emotional sensitivity. They attempted to force Indian women to join them on the "pedestal" without regard to the Indian woman's role in tribal culture. The white woman's flaw was that her compassion never flowed from understanding, but from her ignorance. How intriguing the paradox that women who attempted to enlarge their societal role should do such damage to their Native-American counterparts.

The issue of the interpretation of slavery is the subject of essays by both Murray Kranz and Hal Chase. More accurately, they are both concerned with Fogel and Engerman's studies, and each author provides a critique. Kranz points out weaknesses in *Time on the Cross* that relate to its author's apparent assumptions that only those aspects of slavery which are quantifiable are important and that black achievement ought to be measured primarily in terms of the puritan work ethic. These scholarly weaknesses omit more than they include and represent an accountant's mentality, which is not likely to produce viable or accurate history. According to Chase, Fogel and Engerman's work is more like folklore than history. He sees it as an incomplete and poorly documented fairy tale. Chase's assault on the documentation leads to his conclusion that history must have more credibility and integrity than those authors provide.

While it is generally easy to document the racist inclinations, if not convictions, of most presidents of the United States, such truisms tell us little about their viewpoint relative to their political contemporaries. While, admittedly, both Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt were racists by our standards, we are compelled to ask whether or not they improved or retarded race relations within their respective eras. Charles Zucker rejects both Lincoln as "emancipator" and as "super-cracker" as inaccurate portrayals, one as mythical as the other. Adjudged a moderate, Zucker sees Lincoln as "midway between the radicals of his own party and the reactionary members of the Democratic party." Moreover, Zucker contends that Lincoln was much more advanced than his colleague, Democratic Senator Stephen Douglass, who represented the most reactionary and racist white nationalists. In his context, Teddy Roosevelt fares better in Larry Ziglar's hands than in those who have seen Roosevelt either as the friend of blacks or a politically expedient president seeking the fulfillment of his ambitions before all else. Ziglar argues that Roosevelt was a consistent preternalist and an evolutionary environmentalist who saw blacks as people who were temporarily disadvantaged. The debate over his viewpoint will likely persist.

Dismissing the myth of the melting pot, Thomas Ganschow proceeds to trace the relationship of whites and Chinese Americans from the 1870's, emphasizing the disdain whites felt toward the Chinese Americans. Since the educational system has primarily stressed the ancient history of China, dismissing modern China as poverty-stricken or corrupt, and since diplomats and missionaries consistently depicted the Chinese as barbaric and depraved, white Americans remained ignorant of Chinese culture. Chinese Americans, unlike their European counterparts, frequently intended to return to China with their earnings and had not intended to remain in the United States. Consequently, Ganschow contends, the movement for guarantees of citizen rights has been a twentieth century occurrence which is long overdue.

In the final selection of the section devoted to historical perspectives, Mason Wade argues that, while the repression of French Canadians in Canada is not analogous to that experienced by black Americans, the value of studies of groups like the French Canadians is immeasurable for America's racial minorities. It can be instructive to study any group of people who successfully retain their culture and identity in the face of discrimination and frequent brutality. It is perhaps appropriate that we close this volume as we opened it with the reminder that the struggle for identity, respect, and dignity in the face of an oppressive imperial mentality extends well beyond the boundary of race to those such as sex or religion. They are, above all, reminders that humans have the right to define themselves and determine their lives untrammeled by the ignorance or restrictions of those who, because they hold power or wealth, would strip them of their spirit and rule them. To know the truth may not make one "free," but it may lead down the path of resistance to the realization of the commonality of humanity, a passionate conviction which, unfortunately, too few people hold dear.

- JAMES R. PARKER

ASSIMILATIONIST RACISM: THE CASE OF THE "FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN"

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The subordination of racial minorities by reform movements claiming principles antithetical to racism constitutes an important theme in the history of racism in the United States. Too often, studies of race relations have assumed a direct relationship between race prejudice and racism. As our recent past has awakened historians to the pervasiveness of racism in the United States, we have emphasized the pervasiveness of racial bigotry in our history. Unquestionably, race prejudice has played an important role in determining the distribution of resources in America. This paper should not be seen as a denial of the existence of deep hostility on the part of many European-Americans toward Native-Americans. But, as we have documented the existence of prejudice and oppression, we have also uncovered some paradoxes that require explanation. In the contrast between their stated goals and the results of their action, the Indian policy reformers active in the last two decades of the nineteenth century present such a paradox and suggest an important pattern in the development of racism.[1]

Responding to a new crisis in white-Indian contacts born of the post-Civil War expansion of Euroamericans, a reform movement emerged to "save" the native inhabitants of the continent. Its membership, largely white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant, came from urban, middle class professional and business backgrounds. The periodicals through which they expressed themselves and the record of their other activities, as well as their socio-economic profile, revealed their affinity to liberal reform of the period. Organized in such regional and national groups as the Indian Rights Association, the Women's National Indian Association, the Boston Indian Citizenship Commission, the Massachusetts Indian Association, and the Connecticut Indian Association, these self-styled Indian reformers came together at Lake Mohonk, New York, each fall beginning in 1883. There, at Albert K. Smiley's tranquil resort, they discussed and adopted platforms addressed to the character and destiny of Native-Americans.[2]

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[1] This paper discusses one component of the environment in which Native-American people have operated in the post-Columbian era. The need for histories of Native-Americans which reflect their perspectives, which give more emphasis to the tribal unit and offer a corrective to the emphasis on European action in shaping their destinies, is self-evident. At the same time, the dynamics of racism, that is, the manner in which Europeans interacted with Native-Americans, is a part of the history of both groups and in need of more careful analysis.

Sincere in their concern for the future of Indian people and adamantly opposed to a view of inherent racial differences between white and red Americans, the "friends of the Indian" mounted a crusade to transform federal Indian policy. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, they were remarkably successful in implementing their plans. In retrospect, those reforms were disastrous for Native-Americans. The allotment of land in severalty became a means of divesting the various tribes of about two-thirds of their land in the next fifty years. Educational programs failed to meet their goal of assimilating Native-Americans, nor did they offer skills with which these people could resist assaults on their autonomy.[3]

Flaws in the reformers' vision made an important contribution to the devastating consequences of this shift in policy. Certainly other forces were involved in stripping Native-Americans of their land and resources--the pressures of settlement, the demand of a booming industrialization for raw materials, the desire of the corporations and politicians for more ways to grant and receive favors; but of interest here is the way in which their proclaimed "friends" contributed to the oppression of the Indians and the implications of this for the dynamics of racism.

The emphasis on schooling reveals most completely the paradox in the role of these assimilationist reformers. Perhaps because of its more concrete and dramatic nature, the Dawes Act of 1887 has appeared to be the culmination of the Indian policy reform movement, but to the "friends of the Indian," education was to go hand in hand with land in severalty.[4] Some differences over the nature of the schooling program--the role of the churches, the proper location, the use of the vernacular in instruction--characterized the discussions at Lake Mohonk or in the columns of periodicals. Further delineation of these differences is necessary for a complete understanding of this reform movement, but this paper explores the implications of a consensus that overrode these disagreements--an agreement on the central role of education in achieving the ends of the reform movement.

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[2] For analyses of this movement which emphasize the pre-1890 period, see Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942); Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); Robert W. Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971). Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), provides a balanced and insightful collection of the opinions of these reformers. For the socio-economic profile of these reformers, the author is indebted to Helen Bannan's unpublished ms., "Who Were the American Indian Policy Reformers?"

[3] William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, comps., *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1966), p. 20; Brewton Berry, *The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 15-30.

[4] Mardock, *The Reformers*, p. 214, most explicitly interprets the Dawes Act as the culmination of the movement, but the arguments of Fritz, *Indian Assimilation,* and Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, suggest the same.

In his influential proposal of 1881 for land in severalty, Secretary of Interior Carl Schurz portrayed the school as the crucial assimilating tool. Allotted land would not be safe unless the Indian owner knew how to work and protect it. For this, education was necessary.[5] In the following years, the Indian defense groups lobbied for federal appropriations as well as church funds to expand educational facilities and staff. When the Dawes Act became law, they could point to an impressive increase in these appropriations.[6]

Yet now they turned even greater attention to schooling. Rather than believing that their job was done, they pushed for a comprehensive educational program. To Lyman Abbott's warning, "Put an ignorant and imbruted savage on land of his own, and he remains a pauper, if he does not become a vagrant and a thief," the Lake Mohonk Conference of 1888 responded in its platform:

> Neither the land in severalty, nor law administered by competent courts will suffice for the protection of the Indian. More fundamental than either is his education. . . . It is the duty of the Federal Government to undertake at once the entire task of furnishing primary and secular education for all Indian children of school age on the reservations.[7]

In 1889, Thomas J. Morgan, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs whose experience in education and home missions gave him a deep affinity with those who gathered at Mohonk, presented a comprehensive plan for Indian education. Beginning with the reservation day school and culminating in the non-reservation high school, this system would do for all Indian youth what the public schools were "so successfully doing for all the other races in this country,--assimilate them." The "friends of the Indian" saw their goals embodied in federal policy. They entered the last decade of the nineteenth century committed to assisting Commissioner Morgan and confident that they had blazed the trail to a prosperous future for the original inhabitants of the continent. They would, in Captain Richard Henry Pratt's revealing words, "kill the Indian and save the man."[8]

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[5] Carl Schurz, "Present Aspects of the Indian Problem," *North American Review*, 133 (July, 1881), pp. 12-18.

[6] *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian (1888)* (Boston: The Lake Mohonk Conference, 1888), pp. 7-8. Hereinafter, these *Proceedings* are cited as *LMC*, year.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 94.

[8] *LMC, 1889*, pp. 19, 16-34, 108; *LMC, 1891*, pp. 112-113; *LMC, 1892*, p. 121.

This phrase captured the ambiguity of the reformer's program: it coupled ethnocentrism with egalitarianism. Their arguments for education stressed the inherent equality and the claim to equal opportunity for Native-Americans. At a time when most Americans considered non-whites inherently inferior, the "friends of the Indian" took the opposite position. In presenting his schooling program, Commissioner Morgan articulated its premise. "There is in the Indian the same diversity of endowment and the same high order of talent that the other races possess." Captain Richard Henry Pratt's statement, the Indian "is born a blank like all the rest of us," illustrated the fundamental environmentalism of their thought. Neither race nor culture were factors which irrevocably set one group of people off from another. Both reflected differences in the environment and thus could be altered by environmental changes. The experience of the Indian schools reaffirmed this article of faith. The record of Indian students at Hampton Institute and Carlisle conclusively demonstrated that they had the same ability as whites.[9]

Their faith in education revealed their belief in the plasticity of all men. They did not intend that their educational program would assure an inferior position for Indian children, despite some appearances to the contrary. The initial emphasis on separate Indian schools and the orientation toward industrial education suggest inherently separate and unequal treatment. A closer look at the early programs refutes this oversimplified analogy with education for black Americans. Separate institutions were temporary necessities reflecting particular problems of language, culture, location, and the relationship to the federal government. Because its model for the education of the freedmen predicted a separate and subordinate position for them, the approach of Hampton Institute to Indian education is suggestive. While they did see its mission as preparing Indian youth to return as missionaries of progress to their villages, the Hampton staff happily foresaw the intermingling of the white and red races. The Indian schools should disappear in a generation.[10] Nor was the industrial approach geared to an inferior position in American society. The pestalozzian model, as modified by Hampton and Carlisle with its emphasis on building character through the gospel of work, should be applied to all youth. Higher education and professional schools were appropriate only for a talented few, be they white or red. The founders of these two schools, General Samuel C. Armstrong and Captain Pratt, pointed with pride to their alumni who went on to professional schools.[11]

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[9] *LMC, 1889*, p. 21; Richard H. Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians and Whites" (1892), repr. in Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, p. 268. For observations on Indian students, see *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* (1880), repr. in Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, p. 195; *Lend A Hand*, II (Feb., 1887), pp. 103-04; Hiram Price, "The Government and the Indians," *Forum*, X (Feb., 1891), pp. 708-15.

[10] Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, pp. 9, 41, 210, 223, 266; Larry E. Burgess, "The Lake Mohonk Conferences on the Indian, 1883-1916," Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1972, ch. 6; Francis G. Peabody, *Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institute* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1919), pp. 198-200; M.F.A[rmstrong], *Hampton Institute, 1865-1885: Its Work for Two Races* (Hampton: Institute Press, 1885), pp. 15, 19, 23.

The attitude toward interracial marriage provided further evidence of the irrelevance of race to these reformers. Speaking with varying degrees of enthusiasm, most suggested that it represented the ultimate solution to the question. "The Indian problem is likely to disappear in the next century for want of a distinguishable Indian race" was a common sentiment in their "vanishing policy."[12]

This dream of racial fusion illustrated the other side of the reform thrust. Native-Americans must abandon their culture and disappear into white society. Philip C. Garrett, a Philadelphia lawyer active in the Indian Rights Association and later Pennsylvania's Commissioner of Public Charities, expressed the one-sided nature of this exchange in unconsciously brutal imagery:

> [I]t is the lion and the lamb lying down together, the lamb having been devoured by the lion. What happy result can there be to the lamb, but in absorption, digestion, assimilation in the substance of the lion. After this process he will be useful--as part of the lion.[13]

While insisting that the Indian could change, that he could clothe himself in white culture as easily as in white dress, the "friends of the Indian" maintained that he must change because he could not and should not survive as he was. As Philip Garrett argued, they had been devoured by a lion--an expanding, aggressive society whose government, even in its best intentioned moments, was unable to halt the depredation of tribal people.

The reformers fought such travesties as the removal of the Ute from Colorado, the attempts to re-define the Sioux territory in the Dakotas without their consent, the eviction of the Mission Indians in California, and many more, but they saw it as a hopeless struggle as long as these people remained distinct and with land titles subject to the whims of Congress. In publicizing his program of education and land allotment, Carl Schurz discussed the assault on the Utes by the citizens of Colorado. It demonstrated the irresistable drive of white settlement and the necessity of his program.[14]

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[11] Peabody, *Education*, pp. 244-45; Everett A. Gilcreast, "Richard Henry Pratt and American Indian Policy, 1877-1906: A Study of the Assimilation Movement," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1967, pp. 311-13, while accurate on Pratt, exaggerates his uniqueness.

[12] M.F.A[rmstrong], *Hampton*, p. 23; Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, pp. 60-62; Gilcreast, "Pratt," p. 102. Brian W. Dippie, "'This Bold But Wasting Race': Stereotypes and American Indian Policy," *Montana*, XXIII (Jan., 1972), pp. 3-13.

[13] Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, p. 62.

[14] Carl Schurz, "Present Aspects of the Indian Problem," *North American Review*, 133 (July, 1881), pp. 20-21.

Not only was the reservation system ineffective in its protection, it was wrong. The annuities and rations system encouraged pauperism and undermined the character of Native-Americans. It restricted movement and thus opportunity. Reformers would free their red brothers from this "race-perpetuating" system. Not all agreed with the immediatism of Lyman Abbott or his implication that legal obligations could be unilaterally discarded, but they accepted the general sentiment which he expressed at the 1885 Lake Mohonk Conference:

> I hold that the reservation barriers should be cast down and the land given to the Indians in severalty; that every Indian should be protected in his right to his home, and in his right to free intercourse and free trade, whether the rest of the tribe wish him so protected or not; that these are his individual, personal rights, which no tribe has the right to take from him and no nation the right to sanction the robbery of.[15]

Central to an understanding of the impact of these "friends of the Indian" is the fact that they endorsed the expansion of Euroamerican civilization as natural and progressive. Reverend Abbott's statement illustrated their particular form of manifest destiny. It had its roots in laissez-faire liberalism as well as in social gospel Christianity. The key to progress was individual competition--the interaction of individuals on the basis of self-interest--not cooperation. Equal protection under the law, the sanctity of private property, the family, and Christianity operated to distinguish this competition from warfare. This combination of institutions and ideals accounted for the magnificent achievements of the United States. Nothing must stand in its way.

These reformers seemed to face a dilemma. They endorsed both the expansion of American civilization and the claim of Native-Americans to justice and equal rights. To most Americans, these positions were contradictory, but a faith in assimilation resolved them. To "become an intelligent citizen of the United States" was the "'manifest destiny' for any man or body of men on our domain."[16]

The school was the fundamental instrument. Through it they would "civilize" the Indian. Thomas J. Morgan declared:

> Education . . . is the Indian's only salvation. With it they will become honorable, useful, happy citizens of a great republic, sharing on equal terms in all its blessings. Without it they are doomed to either destruction or to hopeless degradation.[17]

The tribal experience was too communal. It obstructed individual ambition and progress even in its most advanced forms. Senator Henry L. Dawes criticized one of the Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory with classic ethnocentrism.

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[15] Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, pp. 35-36.

[16] Merrill E. Gates, quoted in Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, p. 46.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

> There was not a pauper in that Nation, and the Nation did not owe a dollar. It built its own capital . . . and it built its schools and its hospitals. Yet the defect of the system was apparent. . . . There is no selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization.[18]

The schools would teach self-reliance, which was to work and to acquire. From this came the special emphasis on industrial education and the "outing system" in which individual students were placed with an employer, usually a farmer, during the summer. Such an education would allow Indians to disappear as a group and progress as individuals.

To themselves and to many observers, the "friends of the Indian" appeared to stand for that which was best in the values and traditions of the United States. Their classical liberal and Christian ideology led them to attack those in the society who would unabashedly exterminate or expropriate the material resources of the Native-Americans. Yet this summary of their program and the place of education in it suggests certain flaws in their vision.

Significantly, these flaws were not tied to racial theories. In their crusade, they were consciously in a racial reform tradition that went back to the antislavery struggle. Parallels between the oppression of slavery and that meted out by aggressive settlers and misguided governmental policy pervaded their speeches and articles.[19]

Nor was their concern for education invalid. The history of duplicity in treaty negotiations alone made a compelling case for literacy. An education which would provide literacy and enough knowledge of white America to improve their effectiveness at negotiation was attractive to many Native-American leaders. Such reasoning led Spotted Tail of the Brulé Sioux to send thirty-four children east, with a surprised Captain Pratt, to attend Carlisle. So were Thomas Wildcat Alford and John King sent to Hampton Institute by the council of the Absentee Shawnee.[20]

Part of the problem, then, was not education, per se, but who should control it. The program initiated in the last two decades of the nineteenth century placed that control squarely in the hands of the dominant society. When the reformers spoke for compulsory education, using such rationales as "A barbarian father has no right to keep his child in barberism," they revealed that they, as much as the exterminators, denied self-determination to the Native-Americans. The goals of such men as

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[18] *LMC, 1885*, p. 43.

[19] Mardock, *The Reformers*, ch. 1; Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, pp. 36, 46, 247, 262-63, 269.

[20] Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, ed. with an introd. by Robert M. Utley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 222-24; George E. Hyde, *Spotted Tail's Folk: A History of the Brule Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 278-79; Thomas Wildcat Alford, *Civilization* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 90, ch. 11, 12.

Spotted Tail or the leaders of the Absentee Shawnee foundered on the reformers' narrow vision of civilization and civilized values.[21]

The ill effects of this colonial system of education continue to be felt and documented. The denial of the worth of the child's past and family obstructed learning and contributed to self-alienation. To be successful in the eyes of the school reformers, the student had to wholly adopt white American modes of life. Despite these obstacles, some Indian students experienced success in school and created new patterns of accommodation between their culture and that of white America. For many, the result was a Pan-Indianism that revealed a greater interest in their tribes' rights and traditions than their "friends" anticipated or desired. The latter ignored or opposed efforts of Indians to develop self-reliance with the necessary ties to their own cultures.[22]

While in no way de-emphasizing the damage done directly by the schools, the broader implications of this emphasis on education were even more damaging. By placing so much faith in the school as the means of progress, the reformers weakened their own resistance to efforts to divest Indians of their resources and survival. At best, their attention turned to methods of education and away from the physical needs and property rights of the tribal people. But their message actually supported assaults on Indian resources. Their opposition to annuities and rations contributed to starvation and desperate poverty.

Captain Richard Henry Pratt revealed the dangerous implication of the idea that the Indians must learn to fend for themselves in white society. "I would blow the reservation to pieces," he said in typical brashness. "I would not give the Indian an acre of land. When he strikes bottom, he will get up. I never owned an acre of land and I never expect to own one." Other "friends of the Indian," observing that no one proposed giving land to Indians, repudiated the Captain's position.[23] Yet Pratt had captured the thrust of their reform. They agreed with the provision in the allotment act that much of the reservation land was surplus and should be sold off. The educated Indian would not need all that land. "A wild Indian requires a thousand acres to roam over, while an intelligent man will find a comfortable support for his family on a very small tract."[24] Despite continued criticism of fraud and corruption, their eagerness to see allotments assigned harmonized with the land hunger of less altruistic white Americans. The settlement of white farmers on reservations' "surplus" land furthered the assimilationists' goal of immersing Indian people in white America.[25]

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[21] *LMC, 1888*, p. 14; Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, p. 243; Hyde, *Spotted Tail's Folk*, pp. 290-93; Alford, *Civilization*, ch. 16.

[22] Berry, *Education of the American Indian*, summarizes the literature. For an exhaustive documentation, consult the six volumes of *Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare*, U.S. Senate, 90 Cong., 1 & 2 Sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969). Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), ch. 2, 10, p. 22.

[23] *LMC, 1891*, pp. 65ff, 67.

[24] Thomas J. Morgan quoted in Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, p. 249.

Basically, the Indian policy reformers comforted America. Their confidence in white education allowed them and the nation to avoid either admitting that they were involved in blatant conquest or confronting the complex task of recognizing the legitimate demands of Native-Americans. Moreover, their argument that education would prepare the individual "to sink or swim" on his own merits in American society provided a dangerous rationale for a decline in the condition of Indian people. Education offered that opportunity for no one in America, especially not for people who had no desire to enter that society. Yet the implication of the reform ideology was that failure would be the responsibility of the individual.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, to be sure, the extent of land frauds from Minnesota to Oklahoma and the spread of disease, which seemed to be the main fruit of Indian boarding schools, led to some criticism of the assimilationist approach. For most, however, the problems reflected too much optimism about Native-Americans. Very few felt that the fault lay in the denial of self-determination to these people. Rather, these events strengthened a belief in racial differences.[26]

The paradoxes in this reform effort now came full circle. From a belief in the irrelevance of race and a policy of cultural imperialism, the reform effort contributed to a belief in the validity of race differences. Ironically, those that held such beliefs argued for a more protective policy. True, the loss of land and resources reduced the pressure of non-Indian aggression, but now race theory became a rationale for guarding the esoteric aborigines in their simplicity. Indeed, the Supreme Court, in a ruling protecting Pueblo land claims, operated from the premise articulated by Justice Van Devanter that the Pueblo "are essentially a simple, uninformed, and inferior people."[27] Lest we get carried away with the image that race theory helped its targets, we should note that this new approach was equally obstructive to Native-American efforts to adjust to a new reality and became a rationale for reducing expenditures on their behalf.

The era of the "friends of the Indian" takes on greater significance for the history of racism when one observes its connections with the treatment of black Americans. To the extent that the unforeseen results of this reform movement strengthened race theory, it operated against them as well. A race theory that denied equality and demanded segregation shaped the nadir for the black. He could not find even the saving grace of a protective isolation in the new climate.

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[25] Prucha, ed., *Americanizing*, pp. 25, 101, 251, 343.

[26] Burgess, "Lake Mohonk Conferences," ch. 9, pp. 299ff, 318-19.

[27] *U.S. v. Sandoval*, 231 US 39 (1913). Ms. Helen Bannan brought this decision to my attention. Indicating the change of tone on race at the Lake Mohonk Conference is G. Stanley Hall's address, *LMC, 1911*, pp. 225-32.

That the Indian reform movement should indirectly contribute to black oppression is not surprising when we recognize that liberal reformers had applied the same basic assumptions to their approach to the future of the freedmen. Many of the men and women who were active in the "defense" of Indians and others with similar ideals and social characteristics worked on behalf of the freedmen as well. Not only during the reconstruction period, but thereafter, they denounced the belief in racial inferiority and the denial of equal rights to the freedmen. Yet, in their program to achieve equal rights, they opposed any federal action beyond the reconstruction amendments to the Constitution. Those negative guarantees, combined with education, would allow the ex-slaves to achieve their rank in society, each according to his merits. Here, too, they applied the fallacious "sink or swim" theory, the corollary of what W. E. B. DuBois called the American Assumption, to the inevitable detriment of the freedmen.[28]

This connection between the reform of Indian policy and the approach to the future of the freedmen in America suggests some broader implications of this study. In the late nineteenth century, the social assumptions of humanitarian reformers--their laissez-faire values and most importantly their confidence in the inevitability and universality of the American way of life--shaped a policy that hurt those that it was designed to help. A recent assessment of the work of Hampton Institute could be applied to the race reform movement as a whole: it "was a device through which the white man's desertion of the Negro and his annihilation of the Indian was made more tolerable."[29] Thus the "friends of the Indian" were racist in effect, if not in intent. This analysis questions the presence of an American dilemma, a struggle between desires for justice versus exploitation of minority peoples. Liberal reformers subordinated the right of self-determination of the minority to the "greatest good of the greatest number" and the promise of assimilation. That such a criticism can still be made reveals both a thread of continuity in and the limits to liberalism in its confrontation with racism.

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[28] The Mohonk Conferences on the Negro Question held in June, 1890 and 1891, illustrate the overlap of concern, *Mohonk Conferences on the Negro Question* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969 [1890, 1891]). Wilbert H. Ahern, "Laissez Faire vs. Equal Rights: Liberal Republicans and the Negro, 1861-1877," Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1968, and Ralph Edlin Luker, "The Social Gospel and the Failure of Racial Reform, 1885-1898," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1973, offer corrections to the view that reformers lost interest in the freedmen.

[29] Robert Francis Engs, "The Development of Black Culture and Community in the Emancipation Era: Hampton Roads, 1861-1870," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1972, p. 229.

"TRUE WOMANHOOD" AND INDIAN ASSIMILATION

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> While the men of the last few generations were oppressing the aborigines, . . . the women were forgiving them (as not knowing what they did) and pitying them for their ignorance, sins and suffering. . . . The daughters of these women have developed compassion into action, forbearance into justice, sympathy into public sentiment, and have fairly and fully organized a great reform.[1]

With that self-congratulatory press release, the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA) predicted "The Rising Dawn" for the American Indian. Perhaps unwittingly, they also advertised their belief in the idealized stereotype of their sex that historians have labeled "the cult of true womanhood."

Developed early in the nineteenth century and widely promulgated in the press, the "cult of true womanhood" prescribed piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity as the essential attributes of the perfected feminine character. As real women responded to the "true woman" model, however, they stepped off the pedestal and out of the home. They found in the proclaimed feminine moral superiority a responsibility to act as moral guardians of society, and, with great evangelical fervor, they joined in charity and mission work and various reform movements.[2]

To many of these "true women," the Indian cause seemed well-suited as an outlet for their reforming energies. They responded emotionally to the myth of the Indian "savage" and directed a two-fold pity toward

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[1] "The Mass Meeting," November 19, 1884, press release, "The Rising Dawn," in *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia: Grant & Faires, 1884), p. 53.

[2] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, XVIII (Summer, 1966), pp. 151-74. For the development of this ideal, see: Glenda Gates Riley, "The Subtle Subversion: Changes in the Traditionalist Image of the American Woman," *The Historian*, XXXII (February, 1970), pp. 210-27; Ronald W. Hogeland, "'The Female Appendage': Feminine Life Styles in America, 1820-60," *Civil War History*, XVII (June, 1971), pp. 101-14; Keith Melder, "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early 19th Century America," *New York History*, XLVIII (July, 1967), pp. 231-55; and Page Smith, *Daughters of the Promised Land* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), pp. 175-201.

Native-American people: pity for the wrongs Indians suffered at the hands of white civilization and pity for Indian ignorance of that civilization, which reformers ethnocentrically believed was the only true one.[3] Women attracted to the cause set about to remedy both the wrongs and the ignorance. Motivated by "an enlightened spirit of philanthropy," many women joined the work, believing it "divinely inspired and divinely guided."[4] As one of them put it: "This Indian work is but the Christian motherhood of the nation obeying its instincts toward our native heathen."[5]

Women whose "instincts" led them far outside the home on behalf of the Indian justified their activity by emphasizing the moral superiority theme of the "true womanhood" ideal. Stereotypically more pious and pure, female teachers and missionaries were believed less susceptible than men to the temptations of the alleged "great laxity of morals" in Indian communities.[6] Additionally, a woman's supposedly more emotional nature would help her establish greater rapport with the Indians, and her domesticity would serve as a model for Indian women to imitate. As one frontier historian wrote in 1886, in emphatic italics, "Woman is the civilizer par excellence."[7]

While some women went to the reservations to "civilize" the Indians, others tried to "civilize" the white man's treatment of them. Many women took part in the annual Lake Mohonk Conferences of Friends of the Indian, the most important forum for discussion of Indian policy reform in the late nineteenth century. During a Mohonk discussion of "What women can do in this work" in 1887, Mrs. O. J. Hiles of Milwaukee remarked, "I think it would be better to tell what they can not do. I do not believe there is anything that a woman can't do if she undertakes to do it."[8] The wide range of feminine activities in the Indian reform cause indicated that many women shared this determination.

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[3] See Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965).

[4] Mrs. J. B. Dickinson, *Address of the President of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia: Grant & Faires, November 17, 1885), p. 2.

[5] Hannah Whitall Smith, quoted in Amelia Stone Quinton, "Care of the Indian," in *Woman's Work in America*, ed. by Annie Nathan Meyer (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1891), p. 388.

[6] Helen Jackson and Abbot Kinney, *Report on the Conditions and Needs of the Mission Indians of California* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 10.

[7] William W. Fowler, *Woman on the American Frontier* (Hartford: S. S. Scranton & Co., 1886), p. 522.

[8] Lake Mohonk Conference, September 29, 1887, in *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners: 1887* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 79. For a good study of Mrs. Hiles' Indian reform work, see Francis Paul Prucha, "A 'Friend of the Indian' in Milwaukee: Mrs. O. J. Hiles and the Wisconsin Indian Association,"

Perhaps the most famous woman involved in the Indian rights movement was Helen Hunt Jackson, who would never have achieved a place in history had she finished her literary career as she began, with sentimental poetry. Moved to outrage and action in 1879 by a Boston speech on the forced removal of the Ponca Indians from their Nebraska homeland to Indian Territory, she dedicated the few remaining years of her life to the cause. She went beyond the traditional realm of the genteel lady of letters and deep into government documents to write *A Century of Dishonor*, a selective survey and general condemnation of America's mistreatment of Indians. She also dramatized the findings of her government-sponsored investigation of California Mission Indian conditions in her tear-stained romantic novel, *Ramona*, which she hoped would become the Indian equivalent of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Jackson's works were widely read in the 1880's, and she succeeded in making many Americans conscious of the nation's long-standing, if not original, sin. After her death in 1885, Jackson became a sort of patron saint invoked by reformers working for accelerated Indian assimilation in what they hoped would be a century of honor in Indian affairs.[9]

A proposal deemed most "honorable" by these reformers was the allotment of reservation land to individual Indians. Alice C. Fletcher was outstanding among those who worked to implement the policy. Fletcher was a trained anthropologist who studied the Omaha tribe, but her field work went far beyond the participant-observer role as she personally directed the federal allotment of the Omaha, Winnebago, and Nez Percé reservations. Ironically, Fletcher worked to record, in her allotment work, the tribal traditions that she was consciously helping to undermine. Sharing the popular nineteenth century belief that "progress" was inevitable, she believed her "applied anthropology" would guarantee the Indians a fair share in what she thought was their only possible future: assimilation into white society. She actively participated in reform conferences, and her scientific credentials added more weight to her words in favor of Indian education for self-support and citizenship.[10]

Fletcher's energetic scholarship and philanthropy took her far outside the domestic confines of "true womanhood." More than other female

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Historical Messenger of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, XXIX (Autumn, 1973), pp. 78-95.

[9] [Helen Hunt Jackson], *A Century of Dishonor* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881); Helen Jackson (H. H.), *Ramona: A Story* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1884); Ruth Odell, *Helen Hunt Jackson (H. H.)* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939), pp. 151-228; Allan Nevins, "Helen Hunt Jackson, Sentimentalist vs. Realist," *American Scholar*, X (Summer, 1941), pp. 269-85.

[10] Miss E. J. Gay, "Experiences in Allotting Land," *Lend a Hand*, IX (October, 1892), pp. 241-51; Alice C. Fletcher, "Preparation of the Indian for Citizenship," *Lend a Hand*, IX (September, 1892), pp. 190-98; Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "The Lady from Boston and the Omaha Indians," *The American West*, III (Fall, 1966), pp. 31-33, 80-85; Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Women in Early American Anthropology," in *Pioneers of American Anthropology*, ed. by June Helm (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), pp. 29-81.

reformers, she fought against the stereotype. She urged that Indian schools be truly coeducational, teaching boys and girls both sewing and farming. She also advocated equal allotments for Indian men and women regardless of marital status, a position which she realized would require a recognition of the property rights of married women beyond accepted legal norms of her time.[11] However, to overemphasize Fletcher's feminism in evaluating her career is to distort her record. Although she did break new ground for women in the field of anthropology, her allotment work helped to break down the communal basis of Indian culture. In spite of her good intentions and deep involvement with the Indian rights cause, her efforts had tragic results for those she sought to help.

Many unremembered women shared Fletcher's good intentions and worked as members of the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA) for the same goals as their more famous sisters. The founders of the WNIA, Amelia Stone Quinton and Mary L. Bonney, agreed with Helen Hunt Jackson that they needed to increase public consciousness on "the Indian question." Consequently, they directed the growth of the organization from its humble beginnings in 1879 as an outgrowth of a Baptist missionary circle in Philadelphia to its peak in 1891, when over eighty branches were active in thirty-four states.[12]

The first "lines of work" pursued by the WNIA took its members far beyond the ordinary scope of "true womanhood's" domain. Seeking to raise public awareness, the organization printed articles in the secular and religious press, held mass meetings, and distributed leaflets. Its members also gathered signatures for petitions to Congress demanding respect for Indian treaties and increased commitment to Indian assimilation through education, allotment, and citizenship. Although the women of WNIA neatly wrapped their petitions in embroidery and ribbons and presented their appeal as "the plea of all womanhood . . . to you as legislators and as men," they could not hide the fact that they had stepped far outside their customary sphere.[13]

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[11] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Indian Education and Civilization,* by Alice C. Fletcher, S. Exec. Doc. 95, pt. II, 48th Cong., 2d Sess., 1888, p. 142; Fletcher, "Preparation," pp. 190-91; Fletcher at Lake Mohonk Conference, October 13, 1892, in *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners: 1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 62; Fletcher, letter to Gen. Whittlesey, read at Lake Mohonk Conference, September 26, 1888, in *Twentieth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners: 1888* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), p. 48; and Fletcher, quoted in "Journal of the Eighteenth Annual Conference with Representatives of Missionary Boards and Indian Rights Associations," January 17, 1889, *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.

[12] Quinton, "Care of Indian," pp. 377-91, on WNIA development.

[13] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Proceedings on the Occasion of the Presentation of the Petition of the Women's National Indian Association by Hon. H. L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, in the Senate of the United States, February 21, 1882,* 47th Cong., 1st Sess., 1882, pp. 4, 12; Quinton, "Care of Indian," pp. 380-87.

Herbert Welsh, a Philadelphia reformer with a deep interest in Indian affairs, praised the women's work but believed that, "There are some things which . . . can be pushed better by men. . . . men have more to do with political matters."[14] He therefore founded the Indian Rights Association in 1883 as a men's society pursuing largely the same ends as the WNIA. "As an elder sister," the WNIA welcomed the men to the work and forged a "moral union" of the two societies.[15] However, the members of the WNIA did not immediately retreat to their parlors and kitchens. The WNIA staged a large membership drive and continued to publicize the cause, introducing its own periodical, *The Indian's Friend,* in 1887. After the formation of the Indian Rights Association, the WNIA did, however, begin to add more traditionally feminine "lines of work" to its list of activities. Following Fletcher's suggestion, several WNIA branches began loaning money for home building to Indian students returning to the reservations from Eastern schools. The organization also sponsored a separate fund-raising drive to support the work of female missionaries on previously unproselytized reservations.[16]

This WNIA activity added a new source of funds to a long-established tradition of women working in the mission field. In spite of the Indian's "savage" reputation, wives of missionaries and single female preachers had worked to bring the gospel and the whole white way of life to the Indian tribes throughout the nineteenth century. These women often down-played the supposed dangers to their lives; two female missionaries on the Hopi reservation, for example, reported that they felt more "secure than we would if alone in a city."[17] The Spokane Indians told their preacher, Miss Clark, that they had noticed that "The white men work for money; the white women work for souls."[18] Like most Protestant missionaries, these women believed that saving souls meant more than preaching and baptizing.

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[14] Welsh, quoted in "Journal of the Fourteenth Annual Conference with Representatives of Missionary Boards and Indian Rights Associations," January 8, 1885, in *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners: 1884* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), p. 56.

[15] Dickinson, *Address*, p. 9; *4th WNIA Report*, p. 16.

[16] Quinton, "Care of Indian," pp. 387-91; Amelia Stone Quinton, "Report of the General Secretary," in *Annual Meeting and Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia: 1109 Girard St., October 27, 1883), pp. 10-11; M[ary] L. Bonney, "Report of the Missionary Committee," in *4th WNIA Report*, p. 32.

[17] Flora M. Watkins and Miss Collins, quoted in "The Missions of the New Jersey Association," in *Our Missionary Report for 1897* (Philadelphia: Women's National Indian Association, 1897), p. 42. For women missionaries in general, see Smith, *Daughters*, pp. 181-201. A good study of Protestant mission work is Robert F. Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (New York: Atheneum, 1972, originally published 1965).

[18] "The Mission of the Rhode Island Association," in WNIA, *Our Missionary Report 1897*, pp. 16-17.

They usually demanded a conversion in life style as well as a leap of faith and emphasized the importance of the outward signs of civilization. Thus lessons in grooming, hygiene, and housekeeping were part of the female missionary's message.

These missionary women dedicated themselves to "work till the Indian woman and home . . . rise from pagan darkness, degradation and suffering into the light of Christian faith, nobleness, comfort and independence."[19] In terms of mythic images, their aim was to substitute the "cult of true womanhood" for what they might have called the "cult of degraded drudgery," the distorted but widely accepted white view of Indian women. This was a part of the larger myth of the Indian as "savage" developed early in American thought. Ignoring, or perhaps repressing, the facts of feminine equality and even leadership in many tribes, ethnocentric white observers concentrated on polygamy, filth, and overwork in depicting the harsh life of Indian women. In the minds of two members of the reformist Board of Indian Commissioners in 1885, a woman in tribal society was "the occupant of a miserable tepee, begrimed with dirt and smoke, and half-clad, without respect for herself, and treated by others with but little more consideration than is accorded to a domestic animal."[20] Missionaries and reformers clung to their mistaken belief in the low status of women in Indian cultures, even while they tacitly acknowledged the strength of the Indian woman within her own society. Reformers viewed feminine conservatism as one of the greatest obstacles to their plans to "civilize" the Indian, but most failed to realize that the Indian women were as determined to preserve the standards of their own civilizations as the whites were to force them to accept those of American society. Whether or not the Indian women wanted to change, the assimilationists declared that "the great work of the present is to reach and lift the women and the home."[21]

Missionaries and teachers first concentrated their efforts on teaching Indian girls to be the perfect American homemakers of tomorrow. Some teachers had originally hoped to train their female Indian students as secretaries or teachers, but, finding that most became wives and

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[19] *4th WNIA Report*, p. 52.

[20] "Report of Commissioners Charlton and Smiley," in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners: 1885* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 39. The Commissioners were reporting on a visit to Carlisle Indian School, contrasting this mythic image with the female students they saw. For an evaluation of general attitudes on the harsh lot of Indian women, see Walter O'Meara, *Daughters of the Country: The Woman of the Fur Traders and Mountain Men* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968), pp. 74-81.

[21] Mrs. Merial A. Dorchester, "Suggestions from the Field," in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1891* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), Vol. II, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 542. See also, Emily S. Cook, "Field Matrons," paper presented at Lake Mohonk Conference, October 13, 1892, in *24th Report BIC, 1892*, p. 61; The Women's National Indian Association, *Sketches of Delightful Work* (Philadelphia: Publications of the Women's National Indian Association, 1892), pp. 61-62.

and mothers, they redirected their goals toward domesticity.[22] Coeducation was the norm rather than the exception in Indian schools since the reformers hoped that supervised mixing of the sexes would teach the young men to adopt the gallant manners of white society. To protect the girls from teasing by the younger children, an enterprising woman teaching at an Apache school organized a "guard of honor" among the older boys, which won praise as "a true order of chivalry . . ." that "shines out upon the dark background of savage contempt for women as knight errantry itself does on the gloom of the Middle Ages."[23] Teachers at Indian schools considered lessons in white standards of dress, cleanliness, manners, and morals equally important as more formal elements of the curriculum.

However, this training of Indian youth had not succeeded in transforming Indian home life to match the white model by the time the allotment policy went into effect in 1887. Fulfillment of the assimilationists' great expectations for this plan required neat white-style homes on the newly carved Indian homesteads. The reformers decided that adult Indian women needed more direct help in conforming to white housekeeping standards.

Therefore, in 1891 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan added "field matrons" to the ranks of Indian Service personnel working to assimilate the Native-Americans. Morgan expected the women hired as field matrons to "instruct Indian women in the duties of the household, assist and encourage them in bettering their homes and taking proper care of their children, and incite among Indians generally aspirations for improvement in their life--morally, intellectually, socially, and religiously."[24] Thus, field matrons were the "official missionaries" of white civilization.[25] They set up "model homes" on the reservations, where they held sewing classes, demonstrated housekeeping skills, performed first aid, and entertained Indian visitors. Field matrons required high standards of cleanliness of their guests and attempted to enforce these standards on their visits to Indian homes. It was hard work, but the field matrons were instructed not to work too hard and demand perfection, lest Indian women say of them, "poor white woman, she work all the time."[26]

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[22] Dorchester, "Suggestions," *Annual Report Secretary of Interior, 1891*, V. II, pp. 542-43; Merial A. Dorchester, "Report of Special Agent, Indian School Service," in *Annual Report Secretary of Interior, 1892*, V. II, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," pp. 606-07; Alice M. Robertson at Lake Mohonk Conference, October 15, 1886, in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1886* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 88.

[23] Mary Dewey, "Massachusetts Indian Association," *Lend a Hand*, VII (December, 1891), 390. On coeducation in Indian Schools, see also: Helen W. Ludlow, *Ten Years' Work for Indians at Hampton Institute, 1878-1888* (Hampton, Va.: Normal School Press, 1888), p. 34; Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan, "The Education of American Indians," paper presented at Lake Mohonk Conference, October 2, 1889, in *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners: 1889* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), p. 64.

[24] "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," in *Annual Report Secretary of Interior, 1892*, V. II, p. 100.

[25] Cook, "Field Matrons," Mohonk, *24th Report, BIC, 1892*, p. 61. In commenting on this paper, Alice C. Fletcher cited the work of female missionaries among the Nez Percé as the prototype of the field matron, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

This cautioning of the field matrons against overwork revealed some anxiety about the breakdown of the "true woman" ideal as women acted in the real world of the reservation. Domesticity was easier to idealize with servants in the background. The difficult conditions of rural life anywhere demanded feminine efforts approaching the "drudgery" reformers decried in Indian women's lives. Hardly submissive themselves, field matrons continued to work to force Indian women to submit to "true woman" standards that the matron's own activities tended to undermine.

Feminine moral superiority, the elastic clause of the "true womanhood" stereotype, had stretched far to justify all phases of women's work in the Indian cause. Women left home and family briefly to organize or attend meetings and circulate petitions; others left home for good as missionaries, teachers, and field matrons.

However, to interpret women's activies in Indian reform as steps forward for feminism would distort both the motives and the more important effects of their work. Most women in the movement fully believed they were acting within the parameters of the "true womanhood" model. Those who went to the reservation, with the possible exception of Alice Fletcher, carried the pedestal with them and attempted to persuade Indian women to share their perch. Their well-intentioned efforts were entirely ethnocentric, and their proclamations of moral superiority made them still more unable to see Indians as real people with different values. Feminine service as leaders and footsoldiers in the assimilationist army's assault on Indian cultures may have broadened the accepted scope of women's activities, but this was but an incidental by-product of their efforts which, ironically, hurt the people they tried so hard to help. As the WNIA press release proclaimed, the female Indian reformers had indeed "developed compassion into action," but their so-called "great reform" soured because they acted without first developing compassion into understanding.[27]

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[26] Dorchester, "Suggestions," *Annual Report Secretary of Interior, 1891*, V. II, p. 544; Dorchester, "Report Special Agent," *Annual Report Secretary of Interior, 1892*, p. 607. On concern for cleanliness and model homes, see: Sophie Shepard, "Massachusetts Indian Association: Report from the Apache School," *Lend a Hand*, X (March, 1893), p. 184; Amelia S. Quinton, *Missionary Work of the Women's National Indian Association and Letters of Missionaries* (Philadelphia: Grant & Faires, 1885), pp. 5-7, 10; Elizabeth Test, "Report of Field Matron Among Mexican Kickapoos," in *Annual Report Secretary of Interior, 1892*, V. II, p. 407; and Edward H. Magill, "The Present Duty of Friends to the Indians," speech at Friends' Union, New York, June, 1888, in *20th Report, BIC: 1888*, pp. 25-26.

[27] "The Mass Meeting," in *4th WNIA Report*, p. 53.

OLD AND NEW VIEWS OF SLAVERY

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In 1928 in an address to the American Historical Association, Ulrich B. Phillips stated, concerning the South:

> Yet it is a land with a unity despite its diversity, with a people having common joys and common sorrows, and above all as to the white fold a people with a common resolve indomitably maintained--that it shall be and remain a white man's country. The consciousness of a function in these premises whether expressed with the frenzy of a demagogue or maintained with a patrician's quietude is the cardinal test of a Southerner and the central theme of Southern History.[1]

Phillips continued:

> Slavery was instituted not merely to provide control of labor but also as a system of racial adjustment and social order. And when in the course of time slavery was attacked, it was defended not only as a vested interest, but with vigor and vehemence as a guarantee of white supremacy and civilization.[2]

He believed that Negroes were "light hearted," submissive," "amiable," "ingratiating," and "imitative," and even "heathen savages." Slavery was, according to this view, beneficial to blacks because it taught them the rudiments of the white man's culture. Phillips did not deny that there were cruel slave masters. They were, however, the exception and not the rule. The essence of his point of view was that the Negro had certain inherent racial characteristics that made him peculiarly suited to slavery. Phillips grew up at a time when doctrines of Anglo-Saxon supremacy were dominant in white intellectual circles. As C. Vann Woodward says:

> At the very time imperialism was sweeping the country, the doctrine of racism reached a crest of acceptability among respectable scholarly and intellectual circles. At home and abroad biologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and historians as well as journalists and novelists, gave support to the

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[1] Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *The Course of the South to Secession* (New York, 1939), p. 152.

[2] *Ibid.*

> doctrine that races were discrete entities and that the Anglo-Saxon, a Caucasian, was the superior of them all.[3]

A list of notable scholars who expressed anti-black sentiments would include G. Stanley Hall, John Burgess, John Fiske, William Dunning, and Charles Francis Adams. In other words, Phillips' racist views are simply a reflection of the beliefs of most white intellectuals. At that time, only Carter Woodson and W. E. B. DuBois took exception to the racism of Phillips and to his view of slavery as an essentially benign institution.[4] Phillips' view of slavery dominated the response of the historical profession until 1952. As late as 1950 we find the following sentiment in a widely used textbook: "As for Sambo . . . there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.'"[5] James G. Randall, whose book, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, is considered a minor classic, wrote, "In a real sense the whites were more enslaved by the institution than the blacks."[6]

All of this was some time ago. Racism is no longer respectable in scholarly circles. Historians now have the benefits of the research of the cliometric revolution upon which to judge slavery. The publication of *Time on the Cross* has elicited a response that is unprecedented for an academic work. The book has been debated on television and reviewed in mass circulation journals such as *Atlantic Monthly, Newsweek,* and *Time*. A book reviewer in the *New York Times* referred to it as one of the most important works to appear in the last decade. *The Journal of Negro History* published a searching and incisive critique of over 150 pages. Why has this book provoked so much controversy?

The authors say their work is based on neglected sources and on new scientific techniques. As a result of these new techniques, the authors claim to have information which contradicts the traditional interpretations of slavery. By traditional, they presumably mean interpretations commonly accepted by historians since the publication of Kenneth Stampp's pioneering study of slavery, *The Peculiar Institution*. Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, the authors of *Time on the Cross*, say concerning slavery:

> While scholars have disagreed on many points a broad consensus has gradually emerged. By the midpoint of the twentieth century the consensus had been repeated so often that it

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[3] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), p. 74.

[4] W. E. B. DuBois, Review of "American Negro Slavery" by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Political Science Review*, XII (November, 1918), pp. 722-26, and Carter G. Woodson, Review of "American Negro Slavery," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, V (March, 1919), pp. 480-82.

[5] Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, 4th ed. (New York, 1950), I, p. 537.

[6] James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), p. 73.

> had earned the status of a traditional interpretation. This interpretation is taught in most high school and college classes across the nation. It is the view that has been accepted by most of the readers of this book.[7]

Historians trained in quantitative techniques with the aid of computers now have accumulated enough information to disprove the traditional characterizations of slavery. The authors then list ten new conclusions about slavery. Slavery, we are told, was a rational, efficient, and profitable system. Slave owners in the decade preceding the Civil War were optimistic about the future of their system. Nor is there evidence that slavery would have been brought to an end without some form of outside intervention. Further, the authors contend that the slave was an efficient, productive, and willing worker; that the material conditions of the slaves' lives compared favorably to that of the white industrial worker; and that the slave received approximately 90 percent of the income he produced.[8] Fogel and Engerman concede that at times the slave master was cruel. However, in an interpretation similar to that of Phillips, they believe that cruelty was the exception, not the rule. A revealing example of their method can be found in their analysis of the practice of whipping. Using one diary of a Louisiana planter, Bennett Barrow, Fogel and Engerman conclude that " . . . whippings were administered, an average of 0.7 whippings per hand per year."[9] Whipping was a last resort. Most of the planters preferred the more rational means of offering incentives in order to motivate slaves. These incentives might be a cash bonus, some land, profit sharing, or eventual promotion to driver or to a skilled artisan. For the slave, promotion could mean more status, better clothes, and better housing.

Slaves, according to these cliometricians, were not fed poorly. In fact, the diet of the slave was more than adequate. The slave's diet consisted of more calories than that of the free white worker in 1879. At this point, the reader cannot help but wonder why the authors labeled their work *Time on the Cross*; *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* might have been a more appropriate title.

The authors conclude their work with an epilogue entitled "Implications for Our Time." They state:

> We have attacked the traditional interpretation of the economics of slavery not in order to resurrect a defunct system, but in order to correct the perversion of the history of blacks--in order to strike down the view that black Americans were without culture, without achievement, and without development for their first two hundred and fifty years on American soil.[10]

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[7] Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974), p. 3.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 145.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

Racism, they argue, is responsible for the belief that blacks were without achievement and culture. In an obvious reference to Elkins' "sambo thesis," they take serious issue with the view that slavery was such a repressive system that it destroyed the black family, culture, and reduced slaves to the most elemental level of dependency. They also reject any attempt by historians to provide blacks with a history of resistance. Their refutation of the resistance thesis is accomplished in three sentences.[11]

In what is probably the most ironic section of this very strange book, Fogel and Engerman then proceed to allocate the blame for the various racist views of black history. They

> . . . blame the abolitionists, of all people, for 'fastening the spikes of racism on the blacks.' The spikes are fashioned of myths that turned diligent and efficient workers into lazy loafers and bunglers, that turned love of family into a disregard for it, that turned those who struggled for self-improvement in the only way they could into Uncle Toms.[12]

Time on the Cross is, to say the least, an unusual and rather flawed work. My basic objection is not the authors' use of data or their strident tone. Their entire project rests on false philosophic premises. They assume that the only important aspects of slavery are those that can be quantified. Further, in their desire to provide blacks with a usable past, a rehabilitation of slavery, a portrayal that emphasizes its more genial aspects is hardly required. They also misuse or distort the meaning of "black achievement." Achievement is measured in terms of a Puritan Ethic. They fail to understand that "hard work" was not the only means by which slaves could retain their self-respect. Nowhere in this work is there a discussion of black culture. By ruling out of their purview non-quantifiable aspects of the Afro-American experience, it was inevitable that the cliometricians would provide us with a grossly deficient interpretation of slavery. It is, at best, non-historical, if not ethnocentric.

Fogel and Engerman also display a rather peculiar ethical perspective by blaming the white abolitionists for "fastening the spikes of racism" on the blacks. This is a very grave accusation. Surely Fogel and Engerman should have documented these assertions. Is it self-evident that John Brown, William L. Garrison, Sara and Angelina Grimke, and Wendell Phillips deserve the appellation "racist."

What is most disturbing was the almost uncritical reception this book received in the initial stages. I would be remiss if I left the impression that *Time on the Cross* is in any sense typical of work historians have done in the last ten years.

The new scholarship is not characterized by a "consensus" on specific topics. Although there is general agreement on a non- or anti-racist approach, the so-called new scholarship seems to be an approach in which slavery is seen through the eyes of the slave rather than that of the slave master. John Blassingame, for example, has made excellent use of slave autobiographies in his most significant and generally neglected work on *The Slave Community*. The late Robert Starobin has made a significant contribution to our understanding of slavery by using slave correspondence.[13]

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 263-64.

George P. Rawick has edited a monumental nineteen-volume work on *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, a work based on the personal accounts of over 2,000 former slaves interviewed by Fisk University in the 1920's and the Work Project Administration in the 1930's. These works shatter many of the myths concerning slavery. Most slaves were not "sambos" or passive beings who merely survived. Contrary to the "Elkins thesis," the slaves indicated a concern and affection for their families. All of these books emphasize the importance of religion in the lives of black Americans. The "new scholarship" also stresses the theme of resistance (violent and non-violent) and the slaves' desire for freedom. One would hope that the new scholarship will avoid the pretentious and unhistorical use of analogies in describing the Afro-American experience in the ante-bellum era. Slaves lived on plantations or in the cities, not in concentration camps, asylums, or in prisons. Finally, the new scholarship may well see slavery historically. We can now look forward to analytical works dealing with more than just the last thirty years of slavery. One can hope that the "new scholarship" will give all of us a better insight into the interior lives as well as the material living conditions of the slave.

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[13] Robert S. Starobin, ed., *Blacks in Bondage: Letters of American Slaves* (New York, 1974).

THE FOLKLORE OF OLD AND NEW VIEWS OF SLAVERY

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To suggest that old and new historical views of slavery as it existed in the southern part of the United States are akin to folklore may seem irreverent at best and anti-intellectual at worst. However, given the theme of this conference, the "Importance of Folklore in the Minority Experience," it seems appropriate to raise the question: What is the relationship between folklore and old and new historical views of slavery.

This question seems further justified by the definition of folklore: an oral tradition which contains the commonly held beliefs of a culture or group, and by the etymology of history (French, historie=story).

To be sure, historical scholarship has advanced beyond the level of story, but a selective consideration of old and new views of slavery reveals content which has much in common with such types of folklore as the fairy tale, the hero tale, the myth, the fable, and the joke.

One of the most significant older views of slavery was that of George Fitzhugh as expressed in his two works, *Sociology for the South* (1854) and *Cannibals All!* (1857).[1] His defense of the peculiar institution was largely a condemnation of "free" society and its selfish virtues such as greed and self-promotion. Fitzhugh's observations were apparently self-evident, for he presented no "hard data" such as census figures to document his derogatory description of free society or his positive portrayal of slave society in which "The slaves are all well fed, well clad, have plenty of fuel, and are happy."[2]

When compared with the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, Fitzhugh's conception of slavery has striking similarities to Stith Thompson's definition of fairy tale: a tale of some length involving an unreal world without definite locality or definite characters. The singular difference between the two is that Fitzhugh's works were widely accepted as true.

Similar acceptance was accorded the Reverend Thomtom Stringfellow's *Scriptual and Statistical Views in Favor of Slavery* (1865). Citing biblical content as an unimpeachable source, Stringfellow attempted to document his thesis that the Almighty ordained and condoned slavery. His first instance, the well-known story of the curse of Ham, is unconvincing, however, because the biblical reference (Genesis 9:25-27) does not contain evidence of Ham's racial identity. If one grants Stringfellow his assumption that the Bible is the ultimate source of knowledge, his examples of Hagar and the Law of Leviticus are persuasive. His construct that Jesus consented to slavery because there is no evidence of his condemnation of it is, however, a classic example of the absurdity of arguing from silence.[3]

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[1] Harvey Wish, ed., *Ante-Bellum: Writings of George Fitzhugh and Hinton Rowan Helper on Slavery* (New York, 1960), pp. 3, 7-8.

[2] Eric L. McKitrick, ed., *Slavery Defended* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963), p. 45.

As their titles imply, these works were polemical, as was Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*[4] The early histories were likewise. For example, James Ford Rhodes, author of the multivolume *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule in the South in 1877*, went so far as to warn his readers that although he intended to treat the subject of slavery fairly, he could do no more than elaborate on the words of Henry Clay: "Slavery is a curse to the master and a wrong to the slave."[5] This antislavery view prevailed in other multivolume histories which marked the late nineteenth and early twentieth centures: e.g., James Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution* (7 vols., 1880-1913), and John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (8 vols., 1883-1913).

The response to such abolitionist views was U. B. Phillips' classic, *American Negro Slavery* (1918). It was a seminal work and the culmination of more than a decade of careful research. Although tainted with white racism, Phillips' work dominated academic and popular views of slavery for more than a generation. This acclaim was based on Phillips' use of "primary" sources, especially plantation ledgers. Close inspection of his footnotes, however, reveals that he relied heavily upon the "Plantation Manual" in the Hammond Papers in the Library of Congress and the Manigault manuscripts in a private collection. Phillips frequently cited his previous two-volume edition, *Plantation and Frontier Documents* (1909). In method, this reminds one of Fogel and Engerman's separation of argument and evidence in *Time on a Cross*. Despite the weakness of such indirect documentation, one must look beyond Phillips' use of sources, to his predispositions concerning blacks, to find an association between *American Negro Slavery* and folklore. It is in his racist assumptions regarding blacks that one finds the popular and traditional beliefs of a culture that characterize folklore. Indicative of Phillips' racial bias is the nature of his sources, which are lily white with few exceptions, e.g., W. E. B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (1896).[6] One source he did not use were slave narratives.

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-98.

[4] Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Washington Square Press edition, 1962), p. xx.

[5] Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery* (New York, 1959), pp. 6-7.

[6] U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (L.S.U. Press reprint, 1966), pp. 132, 139, 147. Phillips also cites John W. Cromwell, *The Negro in American History* (1914), p. 432, and William C. Nells, *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855), pp. 429, 433.

Kenneth Stampp, in his monumental study, *The Peculiar Institution* (1956), corrected Phillips' error. In fact, his work was almost a point for point refutation of Phillips' benign view of slavery and is based on even more extensive use of plantation ledgers and account books. Like Phillips' work, however, Stampp's correction of slavery as a harsh, brutal, and immoral system fits popular academic beliefs of the early years of the Civil Rights movement.

Stanley Elkins' argument for the reality of "Sambo" did not parallel accepted academic opinion. Hence, his work, *Slavery, A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (1959) created a controversy with the proportions of that which currently rages about *Time on a Cross* (1974). His induction from psychological theories and Nazi concentration camp experiences that the infantile stereotyped personality of "Sambo" did, in fact, exist was too much like folklore for academia. John Blassingame, in his work, *The Slave Community*, most convincingly refutes Elkins' conjectures. Blassingame, whose work is based on an analysis of seventy-six slave narratives, finds three basic slave personality types: Jack, who was amenable if treated well; Nat, who was incorrigibly rebellious; and Sambo, who was fawningly subservient.[7] He admits the polemical bias of such accounts but argues that distortion is minimized by comparative cross reference with other narratives, autobiographies of slave owners, and travel accounts of foreigners.[8]

Less reliable is George P. Rawick's *Sundown to Sunup* (1972), which is based on the transcripts of interviews with ex-slaves which took place during the 1930's under the auspices of the Federal Writers Project. Whites predominate these interviews with black respondents who were more than eighty years old. Given the fact that the interviews were oral and, in essence, recollections of a relatively distant past, this work, in its methodology at least, most nearly approximates folklore.

The "newest" views of slavery rely heavily on written sources, but some of the major conclusions depend more on current popular beliefs in academia than conclusive primary data. For example, Peter H. Wood concludes one of the central chapters in his work, *Black Majority*, with the supposition that the immunity of blacks to malaria "must have done a great deal to reinforce the expanding rationale behind the enslavement of Africans."[9] This is not an isolated case. Speaking of free blacks, Wood declared via some unfathomable logic, " . . . but their daily existence in the frontier colony could not have been dramatically different in many ways from that of their slave brothers."[10]

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[7] John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community* (New York, 1972), Ch. 5, pp. 132-53.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 235-36.

[9] Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority* (New York, 1974), p. 91.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

At first thought, it may seem ironic that Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman's *Time on a Cross*, acclaimed to be based on the most "massive" collection of primary sources ever analyzed, is the greatest piece of folklore of all. This view is extensively and far more pungently expressed in Herbert Gutman's critique entitled "The World Two Cliometricians Made."[11] Two examples will suffice. Fogel and Engerman attempt to minimize the frequency of whippings to support their subthesis that slave owners used rewards and incentives. This conclusion, via the illogic of *argumentum a fortiori*, then supports their main thesis that slavery was profitable and highly productive relative to free labor. Their primary source is Bennet H. Barrow's plantation ledger for 1840-41. For this two-year period, Fogel and Engerman identify 160 whippings distributed among 200 slaves and conclude that this amounted to .7 whippings per hand per year. Gutman points out that Fogel's and Engerman's figure for the total number of whippings excludes all references in Barrow's ledger to "general whippings." Moreover, the total number of slaves was 200 in 1854, at the time of Barrow's death, rather than in 1840-41. Even granted Fogel and Engerman their erroneous figures, a slave was whipped every four and one-half days on the Barrows plantation.[12]

The second example is a choice bit of academic folklore. In support of their claims that 31 percent of slaves in urban areas were "on hire" in 1860 and that the percentage in Richmond, Virginia, was above 50, Fogel and Engerman cite the following: "Estimates of the incidence of hiring were constructed by Claudia Goldin. Communicated in a letter dated February 8, 1973." Gutman replies, "Are readers expected to take such 'evidence' seriously? This type of 'documentation' is an insult to commonplace scholarly canons."[13]

This extreme breach of academic decorum is indicative of a fundamental problem in historical scholarship which transcends old and new views of slavery, namely, creditability. It is clear, as Fogel and Engerman point out, that there is no such thing as "pure" data. They implicitly cling, however, to some notion of validity in quantity, that the weight of objective evidence will confirm one position as opposed to another. Each point could be contended, however, and leave us in a hapless quandry. A resolution to this conundrum is a realization that history is an inquiry into the past in order to understand the present. This is the significance of the "newest" view of slavery, Eugene D. Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. He places the historiography of slavery in a new and relevant plane by raising the implicit question: What is the relationship between slavery and Black Nationalism?[14] Genovese's prose is eloquent, his idealism is inspiring, and the success of Black Nationalism will depend, in part at least, on people with a sense of history which has a ten-fingered grasp on the present and an unfaltering intuition that the issue is always freedom.

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[11] Herbert G. Gutman, "The World Two Cliometricians Made," *Journal of Negro History* (January, 1975), pp. 53-227.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-85.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 100. The footnote re Goldin's estimates appears in T/C, II, p. 54.

[14] Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (New York, 1974), pp. xv-xvi.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND RACE: "THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR" OR "WHITE HONKY POLITICIAN"?

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Traditionally, Abraham Lincoln has been viewed by the American people as "The Great Emancipator" who, on January 1, 1863, struck the shackles from the bodies of some four million slaves with a single stroke of the presidential pen. Since the early 1960's, however, his reputation as "The Great Emancipator" has undergone rapid erosion. And with good reason. Many American historians have long recognized the Emancipation Proclamation for what it really was: a wartime measure born of political and military necessity, totally lacking in that expression of humanitarian spirit which one would expect from such a document.[1] Recent revelations, moreover, have done further damage to Lincoln's reputation as the liberator of black people. The famous Emancipation Proclamation, for example, failed in actuality to liberate a single slave since it abolished slavery only in those areas where the Union government notoriously lacked the power to enforce any of its decrees, namely, in the Confederate states which the Union forces had not been able to penetrate.[2] Even more damaging is the revelation that Lincoln "emancipated" the slaves on American soil only with great misgivings, since he would have preferred to have seen the freedmen colonized either in Liberia or somewhere in Latin America.[3] The legend of Lincoln, "The Great Emancipator," dies hard, but there is no longer any doubt that it is in its final death throes.

At the very same time that the old legend is about to expire, however, a new one seems to be in the process of being born. That Lincoln was a "white honky" politician who pandered to racial prejudices of rednecks in the North to advance his own political career is a notion rapidly replacing the "Great Emancipator" myth. The assertion that the sixteenth President of the United States was a "white honky politician" seems to be predicated on the disquieting fact that Lincoln apparently did make numerous utterances during his long political career which smacked of racial prejudice. The indictment against Lincoln is also based, to a lesser degree, on the knowledge that the famous politician from Springfield, as a young man, married the daughter of a prominent Southern slaveholding family.[4] Indeed, it is indicative of how quickly new myths may blossom from rather slender facts that more than one student in recent years has confidently informed me that Lincoln himself owned slaves! After more than a century, we can finally dismiss the legend of Lincoln as "The Great Emancipator," but what of this new legend? Does it have any more validity than its predecessor?

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[1] Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), pp. 358-59.

[2] J. G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd rev. ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1969), p. 380.

[3] On Lincoln's advocacy of compensated emancipation and colonization, see: E. Jacque Voegeli, *Free But Not Equal: The Midwest and the Negro During the Civil War* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 22-24, 66-67. For a discussion of specific colonization projects which Lincoln was interested in, see: Warren A. Beck, "Lincoln and Negro Colonization in Central America," *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, VI (September, 1950), pp. 162-83, and Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *Journal of Negro History*, XXVII (October, 1952), pp. 418-53.

A more accurate portrayal of Abraham Lincoln shows that he should not be viewed either as "The Great Emancipator" or as a "White Honky Politician," but rather as a "moderate" on the race issue who stood approximately midway between the radical members of his own party, reactionary members of the Democratic party. Although Lincoln's career as a politician spanned several decades, no better evidence exists for illuminating his stance on the race question than the published record of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. Before examining the text of those debates, however, it is necessary to take a brief look at the "climate" of race relations in Lincoln's home state in order that the following discussion might be placed in the proper perspective.

Racial prejudice in ante-bellum America was not a sectional phenomenon, but rather a national one. In 1835 that astute analyst of the American scene, the French nobleman Alexis de Tocqueville, commented that "Whoever has inhabited the United States must have perceived that in those parts of the Union in which the Negroes are no longer slaves they have in no wise drawn nearer to the whites." "On the contrary," he added, "the prejudice of race appears to be stronger in the states that have abolished slavery than in those where it still exists; and nowhere is it so intolerant as in those states where servitude has never been known." The French nobleman noted that in the slave states of the South, blacks were actually "less carefully kept apart from whites" than in the North where the white man "no longer distinctly perceives the barrier that separates him from the degraded race," causing him to shun the Negro "with the more pertinacity since he fears . . . that they should some day be confounded together."[5]

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[4] See, for example, Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Was Abe Lincoln a White Supremacist?" *Ebony*, XXIII (February, 1968), pp. 35-38, 40, 42. A rather futile attempt to resurrect Lincoln's reputation as a racial egalitarian is made in Herbert Mitgana, "Was Abe Lincoln Just a Honkie?" *New York Times Magazine* (February 11, 1968), pp. 34-35, 100-07.

[5] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. by Phillips Bradley, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), I, pp. 359-60.

It is difficult to determine in which of the two categories of Northern states--those that had "abolished slavery" or those in which slavery had "never been known"--de Tocqueville would have placed Illinois. Although the peculiar institution had been officially prohibited in the Old Northwest by Article VI of the Ordinance of 1787, *de facto* slavery persisted in Illinois for almost six decades after the enactment of the Ordinance.[6] In any case, de Tocqueville's perceptive observations concerning the aversion of Northern whites toward black people seem highly applicable to Illinois. Indeed, racial prejudice in ante-bellum Illinois --though not universal among the white population--was both widespread and virulent.[7]

Contact between free Negroes and whites in Illinois, after all, was quite a different matter than it had been in the Old South. Severed from the bonds of a rigid race relations system, based squarely on the institution of slavery, the free black population of ante-bellum Illinois posed a threat of potentially grave proportions to the preservation of white supremacy. Although the white settler in early Illinois--who was more often than not of Southern origins--could take pride in the "color" of his skin, "whiteness" in itself proved worthless as a means of establishing social barriers between the races. Endemic poverty in early Illinois, moreover, reduced the settlers' ability to maintain the social distance between themselves and free blacks through social distinctions based on wealth, property, and education. Since it was no longer easy for them to perceive that "barrier" which separated the white race from the black race, prejudiced whites tended to suffer from severe racial fears and anxieties. Throughout the ante-bellum period, they sought to devise some means of either relegating Negroes to a position of permanent and humiliating inferiority within the social order of Illinois, or, better still, to keep them out of the state altogether. Illinois lawmakers, in fact, vigorously pursued both courses of action.[8]

As early as 1813, for example, an Illinois Territorial law prohibited free Negroes from immigrating to the state and required those already present to "register" evidence of their freedom with the clerk of the appropriate county court. The first Constitution of the state of Illinois restricted the right to vote and membership in the state militia to whites in 1818, while one year later the first General Assembly of the new state made it illegal for black people to testify against whites. An 1825 act of the state legislature excluded black children from the benefits of a free public education. An 1829 law prohibited the great bugaboo of the anxiety-ridden white supremacist, racial intermarriage, while an 1845 statute forbade an even greater "evil," clandestine sexual relations between unmarried blacks and whites.[9]

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[6] See Norman Dwight Harris, *History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Agitation in that State* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1904).

[7] See Charles N. Zucker, "The Free Negro Question: Race Relations in Ante-Bellum Illinois, 1801-1860," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1972.

[8] *Ibid.*

The continuing fear on the part of prejudiced Illinois whites that free Negroes would swarm into the state from the South or elsewhere is reflected in Article XIV of the 1848 Illinois Constitution. Approved in a separate referendum by a margin of more than two to one, this Article instructed the state legislature to pass "such laws" as would "effectually prohibit" free Negroes from entering Illinois and prevent slaveholders from liberating their bondsmen within the state.[10] However, because of stiff opposition to the Constitutional directive on the part of a large number of legislators who hailed from the northern region of the state, the new Negro anti-immigration law was not passed until 1853. The 1853 anti-immigration law, however, was so harsh in its provisions that a majority of the state's newspapers--including many in the strongly Negrophobic area of southern Illinois--condemned the act as a foul blot upon the good name of the people of Illinois.[11] According to the law, any Negro or mulatto who entered the state of Illinois with the intention of establishing residence was liable to a $50 fine. If the black person upon conviction were unable to pay the fine, the law instructed the local Justice of the Peace to auction off the unfortunate person to the bidder who would agree to pay the cost of the fine in return for the shortest period of labor. As critics of the law pointed out, the act seemed to reestablish a form of involuntary Negro servitude in Illinois.[12]

The infamous 1853 Negro anti-immigration law, however, like its predecessors, was seldom enforced.[13] Nevertheless, it seems clear that such legislation served as a warning that black settlers were not welcome in the state of Illinois, and, in fact, there is some evidence that the Negro exclusion laws were deterrents to the flow of black people into Illinois. The federal census statistics reveal that the free Negro population of Illinois did not expand at a rate equivalent to that of the white population. While the number of free Negroes in Illinois increased from 457 individuals in 1820 to 7,628 in 1860 (an increase of 1,600 percent), the number of whites rose from 54,000 to more than 1.7 million (an increase of 3,000 percent). During the decade of the 1850's, black people constituted no more than one-half of 1 percent of the state's total population. Although scattered throughout the small towns and farmlands of rural Illinois, the largest concentrations of black people in antebellum Illinois were to be found in the state's rapidly growing urban areas.[14]

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[9] Francis S. Philbrick, ed., *Laws of Illinois Territory 1809-1818*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XXV (1950), pp. 91-92. *Laws of Illinois, 1819. Laws of Illinois, 1824-1825. Laws of Illinois 1828-1829. Laws of Illinois, 1844-1845: Revised Code.*

[10] Emil Joseph Verlie, ed., *Illinois Constitutions*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, XIII (1919).

[11] Zucker, "Free Negro Question," pp. 313-15. Harris, *Negro Servitude*, pp. 236-37.

[12] *Laws of Illinois, 1853.*

[13] Harris, *Negro Servitude*, p. 237. *African Repository*, XXIX (August, 1853), p. 251. James A. Gridley, "A Case Under an Illinois Black Law," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, IV (January, 1912), pp. 223-32.

While many northern Illinois counties had yet to receive their first black settler in the 1850's, Chicago had a black population of almost 1,000 by 1860. Perhaps the most prominent member of Chicago's black community was John Jones, prosperous tailor and clothes cleaner, who became the leader of the first Civil Rights Movement in the state. Twice during the decade of the 1850's--once in 1853 and again in 1856--he was a spokesman for the black people of Illinois and protested the onerous "black code" of Illinois and also demanded equal rights for blacks as citizens of the state and nation.[15] The growing demand for equality undoubtedly heightened the already considerable racial fears and anxieties among Illinois Negrophobes and probably contributed to the outbreak of a vicious anti-black program in and around Cairo during the summer of 1857--only one year before the Lincoln-Douglas debates.[16]

In spite of strong evidence that race hatred among Illinois whites was both virulent and widespread, it would be erroneous, nonetheless, to conclude that all Illinois whites were deeply prejudiced against black people or that they all were adamantly opposed to the extension of citizenship to free Negroes. If southern Illinois were a bastion of race hatred and white supremacy, northern Illinois--which had been settled largely by New Englanders and Northeasterners--was inclined to be sympathetic towards the plight of the free Negro and to favor the "elevation" of the state's black population. While spokesmen for southern Illinois Negrophobes asserted that the "black code" of Illinois was necessary because free Negroes, and members of a "degraded race," were a "menace" to the welfare of society and therefore must be placed in a position subordinate to whites through law, a small but influential cadre of white radicals in northern Illinois rejected the notion that people of African descent were inherently unequal to the white race. Likewise, they insisted that free blacks were entitled to all the rights and privileges of citizenship. Taking an environmentalist position, they argued that if free Negroes appeared to be "degraded," it was the product of generations of bondage; if free Negroes were granted the same opportunities as whites, the radicals added, the descendants of Africa would prove as capable as whites.[17] The fundamental issue at stake, then, between the champions of white supremacy and the radical white egalitarians was nothing less than the question of the potential of Afro-Americans and their ultimate place in American society.

It is also extremely important to point out that a definite "moderate" position on the race question emerged in Illinois during the last three decades before the Civil War. The moderate position is perhaps the most difficult to grasp because it tended to be more diffuse and less doctrinaire than either the white supremacist or the white egalitarian position. It is possible, nevertheless, to summarize the moderate stance on the race question. The moderates, who considered themselves "realists," maintained that the question of whether blacks were equal to or inferior to whites was irrelevant because even if the races were created equal, black people would never be able to achieve a position of equality in American society due to the overwhelming nature of the prejudice against them. In short, the moderates believed that equality between the races was simply out of the question because the vast majority of whites would not tolerate it. On the other hand, leading exponents of the moderate position were opposed to the brutal oppression of black people. The only "solution" to the question of race in American society that they could foresee, then, was the colonization of free Negroes and liberated slaves in Liberia. The moderates believed, moreover, that with a return to the African homeland America's blacks would at long last be free to enjoy the blessings of liberty which would be denied to them as long as they remained within the United States.[18]

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[14] Samuel L. Rogers, comp., *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 51-58. *United States Census 1860: Population.*

[15] Zucker, "Free Negro Question," pp. 342-47.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 319-23.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 297-307, *passim.*

Like moderates on other issues and in other times, moderates on the race question in Illinois often found themselves caught in a crossfire which came from both radicals and reactionaries. Reverend Daniel J. Pickney, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1847 from Ogle County, illustrated the moderate's predicament during a debate on the resolution that a Negro anti-immigration clause should be included within the new Constitution. "How does it happen," Pickney inquired, "that at the North I am termed a pro-slavery man; and here, by some, an abolitionist?" The only explanation that Pickney himself could offer was that as a mediator he was obliged to receive the "blows and balls" of both sides. Although he had not wished to agitate either for or against the Negro anti-immigration clause, he had been compelled to register a vote on the measure and therefore felt it was necessary to explain why he had voted in favor of it.[19]

The delegate from Ogle County wished to make it clear that he was neither an abolitionist nor a pro-slavery man. If on the one hand he considered the state's black laws to be a "foul stigma," on the other the "violent" actions of radical anti-slavery men repelled him. Pickney explained that his motivation for supporting the Negro exclusion clause was based solely on political expediency: "No class of men in our popular system of government," he declared, "could enjoy equal rights and privileges with us, until the mass are willing to grant the same, all legislation . . . not withstanding." It followed consequently that if the people were determined to prohibit the immigration of free Negroes into Illinois with the use of "just and humane" measures, he would not object. The Reverend, in fact, favored the complete removal of black people, not only from Illinois, but from all the states, in order that they might enjoy "human rights and privileges" in another country.[20]

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 308, *passim.*

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 308-09. The debate in the 1847 Constitutional Convention over the Negro anti-immigration clause may be followed in Arthur C. Cole, ed., *The Constitutional Debates of 1847*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XIV (1919).

Although Pickney was one moderate who hailed from northern Illinois, moderates in the Constitutional Convention of 1847 were generally from the counties of central Illinois. The major reason for this seems fairly clear: unlike the situation in southern Illinois where a vast majority of the white population were strong white supremacists, or in northern Illinois where a very substantial proportion of the white population were sympathetic to the plight of the free Negro, the situation in central Illinois was unclear. Prudence dictated, therefore, that the central Illinois politician avoid an extreme stand on the race question in either direction.[21]

Indeed, by the 1850's Illinois suffered from an intrastate division which rivaled that in the nation as a whole in terms of intensity. Contemporaries in Illinois were deeply aware of the growing gulf between southern and northern Illinois. A Chicago *Tribune* correspondent, for example, wrote in 1857 that there was not between South Carolina and Massachusetts "a more deadly hostility" than that between the Ninth and the First Congressional Districts within Illinois.[22] Historian Don E. Fehrenbacher, moreover, has perceptively observed that central Illinois was the pivotal region in state politics just as the border states constituted a pivotal area in the national arena. Fehrenbacher has also astutely noted that Lincoln's place of residence, Springfield, made him keenly sensitive to "the crosscurrents of public opinion" and contributed to his "assumption of a position somewhere near the emotional and doctrinal center" of the Republican party.[23]

Although the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 have long been recognized for their importance with regard to the issue of slavery expansion, what has not been generally recognized is that the free Negro question also loomed as an issue of major proportions between the two candidates for the United States Senate. Indeed, it was during the very first joint debate at Ottawa on August 21, 1858, that Senator Stephen Douglas reminded the audience that slavery was not the "only question" that arose in the "controversy" between him and Lincoln. "There is a far more important question to you," he declared, "and that is, what shall be done with the free Negro?"[24]

Historians who have sought to de-emphasize the significance of ideological conflict in the American past have argued that since both Lincoln and Douglas made statements which smacked of racial prejudice during the course of the joint debates that the two candidates were in fundamental agreement on the question of race.[25] Such arguments, however, are based on the erroneous assumption that "prejudice" is of such a nature that there are only two possibilities with regard to an individual: namely, that a person is either prejudiced or he is not. It makes much more sense, of course, to think of "prejudice" in terms of a continuum along which individuals may be located, running the entire gamut from total bigotry to complete egalitarianism. If one thinks of prejudice in terms of a continuum, then it becomes clear that there was an appreciable difference between Lincoln and Douglas. Viewing Senator Douglas as the champion of militant white nationalism and Abraham Lincoln as the leading spokesman for the moderate position on the race question, the significance of that difference is best understood.

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

[22] Chicago *Tribune*, February 14, 1857, cited in Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850's* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 6. Original date of publication, 1962.

[23] Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness*, p. 17.

[24] Robert W. Johannsen, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 47.

Professor Fehrenbacher has argued cogently that the "Little Giant's" primary objective during the 1858 campaign--in addition to defending his own political record--was to persuade uncommitted voters that Lincoln's views on slavery were those of a dangerous radical. According to Fehrenbacher, Lincoln's need to absolve himself of antislavery extremism and to take the offensive on the slavery expansion issue simultaneously resulted in ambivalence: on the one hand, he had to make statements which accentuated the fundamental difference that separated him from Douglas while, on the other, he was compelled to make conservative sounding declarations which actually diminished the distance between the two candidates on the issue of slavery.[26]

Professor Fehrenbacher, however, failed to extend his inciteful analysis from the question of slavery to that of race. After all, if Douglas harped on Lincoln's "House Divided" speech, he also attempted to portray Lincoln as the candidate of the "Black Republican" party--a party, according to Douglas, which favored the "social equality" of the races. Lincoln was compelled, in fact, to take precisely the same stance with regard to the race question as he had with slavery. The politician from Springfield, though, was shrewd enough to turn his inconsistency on the free Negro question into a decided political advantage during the course of the joint debates: when speaking in northern Illinois, the Republican challenger vigorously maintained that black people were categorically entitled to all the rights enumerated within the Declaration of Independence; when on tour in southern Illinois, or "Egypt" as contemporaries called it, Lincoln insisted that he, as much as any other man, was in favor of assigning the superior position in society to the white race. It was this kind of political behavior which caused an exasperated Douglas to threaten repeatedly during the joint debates to "trot" Lincoln down to "Egypt" and there force him to reveal his true "Black Republican" colors.[27]

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[25] See, for example, the discussion of race and the Lincoln-Douglas debates contained in Randall and Donald, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 118.

[26] Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness*, pp. 105-07.

[27] Johannsen, ed., *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, pp. 41, 211-16.

During the first joint debate at Ottawa on August 21, Senator Douglas expressed his beliefs concerning the question of the "place" that the free Negro ought to occupy within the social order of Illinois. Appealing to the widespread fear among Illinois whites that black people would swarm into the state should slavery be abolished, Douglas asked the Ottawa audience if it desired to strike from the Illinois Constitution that clause which prevented fugitive slaves and free Negroes from covering the prairies with "black settlements." Was it the people's desire, he inquired, to turn the "beautiful" state of Illinois into a "free Negro colony" by allowing Missouri, when she abolished slavery, to send one hundred thousand freedmen streaming across the border to become "citizens and voters" on an equal basis with whites. If the voters assembled at Ottawa favored "Negro citizenship," then Douglas would advise them to support "Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican Party" since he himself stood opposed to Negro citizenship "in any and every form."[28]

Although the "Little Giant" would not presume to question Lincoln's "conscientious belief" that the Negro was made "his equal," and hence was "his brother," Douglas denied that the African was "any kin" to him. The Almighty, he believed, had never intended the Negro to be the equal of the white man. The Democratic Senator observed that if the "Supreme Ruler of the Universe" had intended the two races to be equal, it had certainly taken him a long time to prove the fact; the Negro, according to Douglas, had existed upon the earth for thousands of years but, wherever he had wandered or had been taken, the African had proved "inferior" to the race encountered. "He belongs to an inferior race," Senator Douglas concluded, "and must always occupy an inferior position."[29]

Douglas believed that the extension of citizenship to free Negroes would lead to "social equality" between the races and that "social equality" in turn would produce racial "amalgamation." The "amalgamation" of blacks and whites, he was convinced moreover, would cause the "degeneration" of the "superior race" to the point where its capacity for self-government would be lost. In a speech delivered at the Tremont House in Chicago shortly before the start of the joint debates, the Democratic Senator had emphasized strongly that America was a "nation" of "white people"--a people that had established a government for "themselves and their posterity." It was imperative, therefore, according to the "Little Giant," to preserve not only the "purity of the blood" but the "purity of the government" as well from any "mixture" with "inferior races." Douglas claimed that he had witnessed the effects of racial mixing in Mexico, Central America, and South America; in each case, he stated, the result had been "degeneration, demoralization, and degradation below the capacity for self-government."[30]

Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois, then, must be considered one of the foremost proponents of White Nationalism in ante-bellum America. For Douglas, the accomplishments of the American people were not the sole result of a fortuitous combination of vast natural resources, hard work, and enlightened thought but, more importantly, were a function of racial genius. Only the rigid subordination of the inferior race, Douglas warned, would prevent a disastrous contamination of the superior race. If America were to remain democratic for white people, it must of necessity continue to be tyrannical for blacks.

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-35.

Though the "Little Giant" made his theoretical position on the race question quite clear during the 1858 campaign, the practical problem remained as to what should be done with the black people who currently resided in Illinois. Drawing on his famous doctrine of "popular sovereignty," Douglas maintained throughout the debates that the destiny of the free Negro in America was a matter of local responsibility--that "the people" in each state or territory should decide for themselves what "place" the free Negro should occupy. Although Douglas held that the Negro race was inferior, he strenuously rejected the notion that, because of their "inferiority," blacks must everywhere be enslaved. On the contrary, he thought that both "humanity and Christianity" required that the "inferior and dependent" race should enjoy every right, privilege, and immunity consistent with "the safety of society." The people of Illinois, he noted, had already determined what privileges could be extended to black people without endangering the "public good." "We have provided that the negro shall not be a slave," he reminded the crowd at Ottawa, "and we have also provided that he shall not be a citizen but protect him in his civil rights, in his life, his person, his property, only depriving him of all political rights whatsoever, and refusing to put him on an equality with the white man." The current policy of the state of Illinois, Douglas added, was satisfactory to both him and his party.[31]

It is important to observe that although the Douglas "plan" allowed blacks to enjoy those "privileges" which did not jeopardize the welfare and security of whites, the protection of the free Negro's life, liberty, and property depended solely on the whims of "the people" rather than on inviolable natural laws. The white majority could consequently remove that protection at any time. It would seem that "rights" which one group can extend to another group but with the stipulation that they can be withdrawn again at will really amount to no "rights" at all. Undoubtedly, large numbers of Illinois Negrophobes drew the conclusion from the "Little Giant's" speeches that black people had no rights which whites need respect.

While Stephen Douglas believed that the Founding Fathers did not intend that Negroes be included in the American nation, Abraham Lincoln maintained that black people--as much as any other people in America--were entitled to all the human rights contained within the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln's position on the free Negro question, however, was founded on a rather conservative political philosophy which reflected his previous affiliation with the defunct Whig party. Although it might seem to us that full citizenship for free Negroes must follow automatically from their inclusion by Lincoln within the Declaration of Independence, the Republican candidate, in fact, drew a distinction between the "inalienable" rights enumerated in the Declaration and the additional "privileges" that might be granted to individuals by the body politic. Lincoln insisted during the 1858 campaign that free blacks must be protected in the exercise of life, liberty, and property, but he did not think that free blacks were automatically entitled to the full range of civil and political liberties which the white citizens of Illinois enjoyed. It was this distinction between inalienable human rights and privileges which society extended that Douglas refused to recognize, charging his opponent with duplicity.

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

If Lincoln were not actually guilty of duplicity as Douglas charged, the Republican candidate's position on the free Negro question clearly exhibited a considerable degree of ambiguity. Unlike Douglas, Lincoln's comments on the characteristics of the African race were pervaded with a sense of uncertainty. Neither the environmentalist argument that the Negro's apparent degradation was due to the debilitating effects of slavery, nor the white supremacist argument that the descendants of Africa were hopelessly and permanently inferior to the white race were convincing to Lincoln. Although Lincoln did make remarks during the course of the joint debates which smacked of racial prejudice and demonstrated that he was not a full-fledged racial egalitarian, many of his "racist" comments were not made gratuitously but rather were delivered in response to the "Little Giant's" accusations that Lincoln and the "Black Republican" party were in favor of "social equality."[32]

Abraham Lincoln's statements on race during the 1858 campaign, indeed, reveal his close affiliation to Illinois "moderates" who had traditionally sought to steer a middle course between the extremes of complete egalitarianism on the one hand, and the total subordination of black people on the other. If Lincoln's statements concerning the "differences" between the races were pervaded with ambiguity and uncertainty, he shared both of those traits with other "moderates."[33] Lincoln, then, was clearly no advocate of racial egalitarianism, but neither was he a militant white supremacist.

Perhaps the most revealing expression of Lincoln's thought concerning the problem of race in American society occurred at Ottawa during the first joint debate. Since the Republican challenger had declared in a very controversial speech delivered in Springfield just a few months before that the American government could not endure permanently "half slave and half free," he was compelled at Ottawa to address himself to the question of emancipation. If all "earthly power" were granted to him, Lincoln admitted, he would not know what to do with the "existing institution." His first impulse, he informed the Ottawa audience, would be to free the slaves and send them to Liberia, but he was aware that the "sudden execution" of African colonization was impossible. According to Lincoln, only two alternatives remained: the slaves either could be liberated and kept among the whites as "underlings," or they could be emancipated and elevated to a level of political and social equality with whites. While the Springfield politician was not certain that making the slaves into free "underlings" would "better" their condition, his own feelings would not admit equality; and, he added, even if his feelings would, he was convinced that those of the "great mass of white people" would not. Whether prejudice against blacks accorded with "justice and sound judgment" was not the sole question, according to Lincoln, if indeed it were any part of it. "A universal feeling," he declared in words reminiscent of the Reverend Pickney, "whether well or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals."[34]

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[32] See Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 264-67. Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness*, p. 106.

[33] Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, pp. 279, 285-86. Zucker, "Free Negro Question," pp. 362-63.

If Lincoln believed that the prejudices of most whites--including himself--precluded the possibility of social and political equality for blacks, he also thought that there was an actual physical difference between the two races which would probably forever forbid the existence of the two within the same society "upon the footing of perfect equality." Since it became necessary, therefore, to assign each race a separate place in the social order, Lincoln informed the assembled multitude at Ottawa that he--as well as Judge Douglas--was in favor of having the white race occupy the superior position. The Republican candidate quickly added, though, that there was "no reason in the world" why the Negro should not be entitled to "all the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The Negro, Lincoln held, was as much entitled to those rights as the white man. The Republican from Springfield agreed with Judge Douglas that the Negro was not the equal of the white man in "many respects," certainly not in "color," perhaps not in "moral and intellectual endowment," but he was, in Lincoln's estimation, the equal of "every living man" in the right "to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns."[35]

Abraham Lincoln denied, moreover, that the protection of the free Negro's inalienable rights must ultimately lead first to "social equality" and then racial "amalgamation." The social distance between whites and blacks, he contended, could be preserved without the total subordination of the free Negro population. During the fourth joint debate at Charleston, Illinois, deep in the heart of "Egypt," Lincoln challenged the "Little Giant's" assertion that the Republican party's position on the free Negro question, if implemented, would ultimately produce "social equality." The Republican candidate told the Charleston crowd that he had never been in favor of producing a "perfect equality" between the races, nor had he ever advocated "making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people," but he did not perceive that because the white man was to have the superior position in society that the Negro "should be denied everything." "I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave," he declared, "that I must necessarily have her for a wife. My understanding is that I can just let her alone." Though Lincoln had never had the "least apprehension" that he or any of his friends would marry Negroes if there were no law against it, he was prepared to allay Judge Douglas' "great apprehension" with a "solemn pledge" to uphold the Illinois law which forbade racial intermarriage.[36]

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[34] Johannsen, ed., *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, pp. 50-52.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

With typical Lincolnian prose, then, the Republican candidate sought to convince the Charleston audience that free Negroes could be allowed to exercise their natural rights as human beings without risking the obliteration of the legal and social barriers that were the foundation of white supremacy in Illinois. Lincoln's reassurances, though, probably did little to allay the deep-seated racial fears and anxieties of southern Illinois Negrophobes who were undoubtedly distrustful of any doctrine which held that the free Negro possessed certain inalienable rights that did not depend absolutely on the whims of the white race.

In conclusion, Abraham Lincoln, then, deserves neither the extravagant praise which he has received in the past as "The Great Emancipator," nor the vitriolic condemnation that has been directed against him lately as an archetypal "white honky politician." If anyone in antebellum Illinois should be identified as a "white honky politician," it is Douglas, not Lincoln. Yet, this last statement should not be construed as an "apology" for Lincoln. The joint debates of 1858, after all, demonstrate clearly that he gave at least his tacit approval to the "black code" of Illinois, while yearning for the time when African colonization could be implemented as the "ideal" solution to the American race problem. There were, in comparison, whites in Illinois who campaigned vigorously for the repeal of the oppressive "black laws" and who believed that blacks should become equal citizens of the state and nation. Lincoln, in 1858, could have chosen to follow their model, but he did not. The future Civil War President, in fact, would remain a "moderate" who, like the Reverend Daniel J. Pickney, was destined to receive the "blows and balls" of both sides in the controversy over the question of race.

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[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-63.

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND BLACK AMERICA

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President Theodore Roosevelt knew the racial adjustment problem facing the United States was a crucial one. Reconstruction had failed and been discarded; the nation was stumbling from one crisis and riot to another. The Booker T. Washington approach, sometimes called accommodationist, held out hope to a people searching for an answer, and it fascinated their Vice-President. While Vice-President, he held exploratory talks with the "Sage of Tuskegee" with the intention of pursuing this further at a later date in a visit to Tuskegee Institute.[1] But an assassin's bullet interrupted this plan. Roosevelt was troubled over the question, however, and on the day he was sworn in as President he wrote to Washington:

> When are you coming North? I must see you as soon as possible. I want to talk over the question of possible future appointments in the South exactly on the lines of our last conversation together.[2]

From one of these early meetings, Washington reported Roosevelt's attitudes and policies in this area were not impulsive but "carefully matured." From another, this one a dinner, came an explosive storm breaking around the new President. John Hope Franklin has recorded that "Negroes . . . were delighted."[3] Careful scrutiny reveals this is a debatable supposition. But at least, in the popular myth, blacks had a friend in the White House.

Seven years later, Mary Church Terrell, an active black leader for many decades, wrote of T.R., "I could never respect and admire him as I did before. . . . It was an ugly blemish on an otherwise spotless career."[4] The ugly blemish was Roosevelt's dismissal of the black troopers accused of shooting up the town of Brownsville, Texas. On circumstantial evidence, he dismissed the entire group without the benefit of trial, military or civilian. As a result, he closed out his Presidency with the headlines and voices reminding black voters to ignore his candidate, William Howard Taft, and "Remember Brownsville."[5] Even Roosevelt's offer in the lame duck period to allow those who could prove their non-involvement be reinstated was termed a "miserable insult."[6] So closed an era that had begun with high hopes and bright expectations under a cloud of suspicion and apparent failure. What had gone wrong? Why and when did their "friend" in the White House change? These were questions blacks faced then and historians have subsequently. Actually, the answer to the when and why is intertwined. If one can determine when the supposed change occurred, then the potential answer to why can be narrowed.

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[1] Roosevelt to Booker T. Washington, March 21, 1901, Roosevelt Papers, Series II, Vol. 28; Roosevelt to William Henry Lewis, July 26, 1900, Elting E. Morison, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, II, pp. 1364-365.

[2] Roosevelt to Washington, September 14, 1901, Washington Papers, Box 16 (Library of Congress).

[3] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), pp. 433-34.

Historians have believed that Roosevelt first "changed" and adopted an "anti-Negro" policy as a result of the Brownsville incident, late 1906. Others contend he actually changed after his trip to the South in 1905 where he was engulfed in an outpouring of Southern hospitality and attacked by that old will-of-the-wisp Republican dream of breaking the solid South. In other words, T.R. had a pro-Negro first term and an anti-Negro second term. A recent historical study has pushed this date back to late 1902, certainly by mid-1903. The motivation was political. Roosevelt had initially followed the advice of old spoilsman James Clarkson and attempted to undercut his rival Mark Hanna's influence in the South using blacks. When this plan apparently misfired in the celebrated Crum case, and in a lesser known case, Samuel Vick of North Carolina, he quickly changed to a state-by-state policy. This meant, in the main, an abandonment of black Americans. The change was apparent by mid-1903.[7]

The problem in adopting these approaches is that it assumes he changed. Perhaps he did not. It also proceeds under the thesis that Roosevelt's attitude was racist and hence his inclusion in the recently published *Our Racist Presidents*.[8] These two ideas cohese only if you really believe he was so superficial that he could be converted to racism by the South, or was for sale politically. It is also possible for these ideas to hold up only if you assume that the only two racial attitudes possible is racism or late twentieth century liberalism. If we judge the

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[4] Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (Washington, D.C.: Ransdell, Inc., Publishers, 1940), pp. 277-78.

[5] See the following papers in 1908, especially: Cleveland *Gazette*, January 25, February 1 and 22, September 5 and 12, 1908; Boston *Guardian*, February 8 and August 15, 1908; Washington *Bee*, February 1, 1908; Richmond *Planet*, March 14, 1908; *Horizon*, IV, "The Negro Voter," July, 1908, pp. 5-7; Savannah *Tribune*, November 7, 1908.

[6] Cleveland *Gazette*, December, 1908.

[7] Melvin Steinfield, *Our Racist Presidents* (San Ramon, Cal.: Consensus Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 203ff. The article is by Seth Scheiner.

[8] *Ibid.*

Progressive age by our own, then clearly almost all would be racist. But if we judge them and Roosevelt by the various patterns of their own day, then a more favorable and, I believe, accurate picture of Roosevelt emerges. It is possible with this approach to answer the question of when easily, for he never changed. The answer to why follows that he was a paternalist, and he took this stance because of his early childhood education and experiences.

Thus any useful study of Roosevelt would look first at his early life. An examination of the major events of his Presidency should reveal a much different perspective than has heretofore been revealed.

The Union was in crisis. Confederate armies had again pushed into the North and were threatening to flank the national capital. Prematurely, several rebels had been discovered in the hamlet of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Soon one of the biggest battles of the war was joined. In New York City, a "passionate little unionist" knelt by his bed in prayer. Young "Teedie" prayed for a Union victory.[9] Undoubtedly it was childhood rebellion rather than a genuine political attitude, and it must have brought a wry smile of amusement to the lips of "Mittie," his Georgia born mother.

The ages of three to seven are fascinating and impressionable years. For young Theodore Roosevelt's generation, it was particularly so, for a war was in progress. Bands played, armies marched, and children could dress in the latest Zouave uniform. But the Civil War impinged directly on households across the nation, and the Roosevelt home was no exception. The division of loyalty between a northern father and southern mother caused some personal anguish to the members. No open splits occurred, however, and the union of a northern business family and a southern plantation family produced a son with an ironic dichotomy, yet harmony, of thought. In his attitudes and actions toward blacks, this home life and influence is obvious.

Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., was a young man not yet thirty years old when the war broke out. He was strong and healthy, an excellent recruit. He was also sensitive and loved his southern born wife deeply. He carefully considered the options and hired a substitute for his military obligation. He was also an active man, and a patriot. Public service was a tradition in the Roosevelt household, and so the senior Roosevelt fought his own private war. He conceived and personally lobbied through Congress legislation that permitted soldiers to allot a certain amount of their pay for their families. Action on this new law moved slowly, and he went directly to President Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln issued a directive to the Postmaster General to issue the order. Still the victory was not won. Each man had to be convinced to "allot" the amount to his family, otherwise they suffered intensely from the lack of a breadwinner. His service on the allotment commission took him then to the army camps where he used a mixture of patriotism, persuasion, and salesmanship to lead many men to provide for the loved ones at home. For most of the war he was away from his own home. He stood in the cold and rain, shared the life in the army camps, and spent long hours in the saddle. As the war came to a close, he realized another area of need for the families of soldiers. He, along with others, organized the Protective War Claims Association which saved soldiers' families more than a million dollars in fees. A soldiers' employment bureau was also established to find work for crippled vets. Roosevelt took great satisfaction from his work in this area.[10] He rejoiced in each soldier's decision to send money home and often wrote of his improvised contests to get them to give more. The little Roosevelt only "sensed that his father was away."[11] In later years, when the Colonel of the Rough Riders looked back on his father's life, this was the one area that received less than unqualified praise.

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[9] Lord Charnwood, *Theodore Roosevelt* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923), pp. 7-8.

In New York City young "Teedie" grew up in a Southern Island in the federal North. His mother was raised on the Roswell Plantation near Atlanta, Georgia. Roswell, with its slaves and gracious hospitality, bespoke the best of the ante-bellum South. It is often neglected, but on his mother's side Roosevelt inherited a long line of successful businessmen and public servants. His grandfather was a director of the innovative company that sent the first steamship, the *Savannah*, across the Atlantic. Several fought in the Revolutionary War. Thus his inheritance from this side reinforced many characteristics of his father's family.[12]

The Roosevelt children had a good time during the war. They were never without attention or affection from adults. Busy little fingers packed boxes and helped Mittie Bulloch Roosevelt, "Teedie's" mother, tie the strings. Excitement reigned through the household as these boxes were then passed through northern lines to the relatives in the South.[13] Mittie's mother resided in New York with the family, even though she would have preferred a "common grave" rather than live under the same government again.[14]

Meanwhile, in the South, two of Roosevelt's uncles were taking an active role in the attempt to establish the Confederacy. James Dunwoodie Bulloch was a commander in the Confederate Navy. He was the contractor for the building of the cruiser, the *Alabama*, in Great Britain. This ship later wreaked great havoc on northern shipping. Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, and others felt that it had extended the war by some estimates as much as two years. Roosevelt's other uncle, Irvin Bulloch, was on the *Alabama* in its famous fight with the Union *Kearsarge*. He fired the last gun from the *Alabama*'s batteries. Both men--under assumed names--visited the Roosevelt home after the war. Not coming under the general amnesty conditions operating at the time, one can imagine the mystery and excitement which the visit generated. The "unreconstructed" rebels both settled in England after the war. Roosevelt often spoke in later years of the courage and heroism of his southern relatives and admired their gallantry, if not their cause.[15]

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[10] Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 40ff.

[11] Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), pp. 11-12.

[12] Howard K. Beale, "Theodore Roosevelt's Ancestry, A Study in Heredity," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, LXXXV (October, 1954), pp. 196-205.

[13] Lilian Rixey, *Bamie: Theodore Roosevelt's Remarkable Sister* (New York: David McKay Company, 1963), p. 12.

[14] Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 47.

Mittie told her children much about the life centering on her childhood home of Roswell. One cannot read Carleton Putnam's study of the Georgia wedding of Roosevelt, senior, and Mittie Bulloch without being impressed with the depth of southern tradition in the family.[16] When he visited the plantation in 1905, Roosevelt said, "I felt as if I already knew every nook and corner of it." Their mother and aunt told the children stories about the slaves who served at the Roswell plantation. "She and my mother used to entertain us by the hour with tales of life on the Georgia plantation." Descriptions of animal life and other activities on the plantation entertained the little ones. They were told of the "queer goings-on in the Negro quarters." Aunt Anna entertained them with the childhood favorites, "Br'r Rabbit," while an uncle, Robert Roosevelt, published some of these in *Harper's* some years before Joel Chandler Harris capitalized on them and made them famous. Aunt Anna lived with the Roosevelts and did more than tell stories. She spent a good deal of time teaching the children their lessons.[17] Thus during the critical childhood years, the most intimate influence was maternal, and southern. The essence of this is probably contained in Theodore's reflections on his mother in his *Autobiography*. He wrote that she was a "sweet, gracious, beautiful Southern woman. . . . entirely unreconstructed."[18] An understanding of this aspect of his upbringing is essential in understanding the man. "Teedie's" early life made him very much the product of a southern plantation culture.

Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., was a stern man who leaned toward rigidity, especially in areas of moral principles. "He was," as the son later wrote, "the only man of whom I was ever really afraid." Yet the man remembered the little boy's impression, too, that his father was "the best man I ever knew."[19] The elder Theodore loved people. He was a philanthropist who was a founder, trustee, and contributor to the Museum of National History and Metropolitan Museum of Art. On a more human level, he was a founder of the Children's Aid Society, the State Charities Aid Association, the New York Orthopedic Hospital, and a leader of the Newsboys Lodging House and the YMCA. "Teedie" had the example of a man who was not a pseudo or Cadillac liberal who rode through the area to see the results of his money and efforts, but who was there.

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[15] Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1913), pp. 14-16, 32.

[16] Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 1-19.

[17] Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, pp. 4, 15, 17.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, 64.

He was also involved with people as people. In the Civil War, he had lived in the army camps near the front lines implementing his own legislation. He took his Sunday mornings to teach a Sunday school class of newsboys and spent long hours during the week visiting them. Everywhere he went he generated his ideas of moral uprightness and good citizenship.[20] This influence continued to have its impact on the boy as he grew to young manhood. While in Harvard, he wrote to his mother that his father had recently writtin him a letter. In it he was counseled to take care of his morals first, his health next, and finally his grades.[21] There is little doubt where Teddy Roosevelt's "*noblesse oblige*" originated. Thus a second major childhood influence, this one derived from his father, was: the strong were to help the weak.

Young "Teedie" was a sickly boy. Asthma attacks made his life miserable. Only the love and concert of Mittie and Theodore senior eased his pain. The state of his health was easily one of the dominant themes of his life.[22] When others ran, played, walked in the woods, swam, and did childhood things, so did "Teedie," but at a price. Often his breath was forced. After tiring days, his father walked, holding him in his arms, most of the night. Many times Mittie sat with her soothing hands stroking his brow. But the boy persisted.

The Roosevelts were an active family. The agenda that senior Roosevelt set for them was Spartan, for "Teedie" almost brutal. He challenged his son to "make [your] body. You have the mind, but you have not the body, and without the help of the body, the mind cannot go as far as it should."[23] "Teedie" responded to this in the "spirit of battle."[24] He worked out in his homemade gym, chinned, and exercised on parallel bars. He took long hikes, rode horseback, and swam. His tutor, Arthur Cutler, noted that his hours of exercise were as well planned as his study.[25]

In 1869 and again in 1872, the Roosevelt family toured Europe. Climbing mountains, visiting castles and ancient ruins, hunting for his treasured specimens and for sport along the Nile, were all memories "Teedie" would treasure. They were challenges as well, and he responded in what was becoming the pattern of his life. He tried to keep pace with his father and lead his siblings. He mentions all of these and more in his boyhood diaries. On the long trails during travels, his parents told them stories to while away the hours--tales of runaway slaves and life on the plantation. One was about "an old Negro 'MaMa' and her uncle and about 'possum hunt and a good maney [sic] more things which were so verry [sic] funny."[26]

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[20] Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 13-14.

[21] Morison, *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, I, p. 33; see also Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), I, p. 2.

[22] Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 34.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 72ff.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

The Roosevelts also met and visited the two unreconstructed uncles while they were in England. Later, on Roosevelt and Alice Lee's delayed honeymoon in the summer of 1881, they met these uncles again. The meeting was intimate, and the men had long conferences. Uncle James Bulloch helped Theodore considerably in his preparation of the book, *Naval War of 1812*. Roosevelt, in turn, tried to persuade him to publish a work of his own, which he subsequently did, entitled *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe*.[27] This may not indicate anything more than explain T.R.'s lack of use of the "bloody shirt" in politics. That, in itself, is significant by 1901 when he becomes President.

It had been a most strenuous childhood and youth, a preparation for a strenuous life. The "kill or cure" philosophy of Theodore senior for Theodore junior worked. He became an outstanding physical specimen. It had not been easy. Later, when he wrote of his father, he described this. "He not only took great and untiring care of me . . . but he also most wisely refused to coddle me, and made me feel that I must force myself to hold my own with other boys and prepare to do the rough work of the world."[28] A lesson came to this young scion of American aristocracy: a person can, with his own exertion, make something of himself. And so a third major element emerging from his youth was a strong personal experience in overcoming challenges. Little wonder that social Darwinism was so easily embraced by the man, or that he could apply it so easily to others. He had himself gone through the crucible of testing.

There seems to be little doubt that Roosevelt believed some races or ethnic groups were inferior to others. On the other hand, he did not believe this inferiority or backwardness was a permanent condition. Evolution could move a race upward. This idea he applied to the Philippine Islands, for example, expecting that they would make progress toward self-government.[29] If these "backward" people ever threatened Western countries because of industrial or military progress, he said, "we shall then simply be dealing with another civilized nation of non-Aryan blood, precisely as we now deal with Magyar, Finn, and Basque."[30]

Roosevelt applied this same concept to the blacks in the United States. He believed that, in the mass, they were inferior, but some individuals were equal. This was his justification for signing a bill to integrate the New York schools while he was governor.[31] Booker T. Washington was one of these "occasionally good, well-educated, intelligent, and honest colored men," who, according to his standards, was equal. He wrote Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian*, that overall he could see an evolutionary process working in the American black's development since the Civil War. For "the talk about the negro having become worse since the Civil War is the veriest nonsense."[32] Clearly, then, Roosevelt believed certain peoples were culturally or environmentally inferior but did not believe this was a hereditary or permanent condition.

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[26] Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), pp. 86, 89, 110, 185.

[27] *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870-1918* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), pp. 50-51.

[28] Morison, *Letters*, II, p. 1443.

[29] Theodore Roosevelt, *American Problems* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), pp. 276-78.

[30] Theodore Roosevelt, *Literary Essays* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. 247.

Theodore Roosevelt demonstrated these three main elements of *noblesse oblige*, paternalism, and rewards to those who had excelled many times during his public career. As a youthful New York legislator, he was involved in legislation for the Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans.[33] Later, as Civil Service Commissioner, he was attacked for opening the test to "colored people." He retorted:

> It is now made a reproach to us that under our examinations honest and capable colored men are given an even chance with honest and capable white men. I esteem this reproach a high compliment to the Commission.[34]

As a matter of fact, he believed the best way for the race to make progress was for rewards to be given to those whose abilities were without question. He wrote to Elihu Root, his Secretary of State, on this issue: "Moreover, as regards colored men even more than as regards white men, all possible attention should be paid to getting the highest type of man."[35] Roosevelt's writings are replete with this kind of inference. In justifying his appointment of a black to a responsible position while he was Governor of New York, he said the man was "a particularly decent and upright Negro lawyer."[36] Upon assuming the Presidency, he apparently had the same working code in mind. He wrote to Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *Century Magazine*, this explanation of his appointment policy:

> When I took office I made up my mind that I should strive to appoint as high a grade of men to office in the South as in the North, and that tho I would appoint but a limited number of colored men . . . they should represent the very best type.[37]

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[31] Owen Wister, *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship, 1880-1919* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 253; and Roosevelt, *American Problems*, pp. 276-78.

[32] Roosevelt to Owen Wister, July 27, 1906, Morison, *Letters*, V, pp. 226-28.

[33] Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 93-94.

[34] Morison, *Letters*, I, p. 357.

[35] *Ibid*., V, p. 102.

[36] Morison, *Letters*, II, p. 1365.

[37] Roosevelt to Gilder, November 16, 1908, Morison, *Letters*, VI, pp. 1358-365.

He told Ray Stannard Baker, one of the leading journalists of the day, roughly the same thing. Explaining, "My aim has been to appoint only here and there an exceptional Negro."[38] This policy is a logical outcome of his belief that members of the race could rise or evolve to a position of equality with whites. Evolution, of course, is slow and often painful.

This policy could be applied with perhaps more justification to northern rather than southern blacks. Roosevelt, according to both his supporters and detractors, broke new ground in appointing northern blacks to conspicuous positions.[39] To cite examples, T.R. as President appointed the ten Justices of the Peace in the District of Columbia. Two of these were blacks. Robert H. Terrell's choice was based on "his character and culture," and E. M. Hewlett's was for "merit of work and experience."[40] Both of these fit the formula of recogniton of work and excellence. A later appointee fits the mold more precisely. He appointed William H. Lewis to the post of Assistant District Attorney in Boston. Lewis was a Harvard graduate and well-known football player.[41] Conspicuous other examples were Charles Anderson as Collector of the Internal Revenue in New York City; Ralph Tyler of Ohio as Auditor of the Navy; and S. Laing Williams as Assistant District Attorney in charge of immigration in Chicago.[42] Some contend Roosevelt made these appointments to offset his lack of appointments of blacks in the South. Others contend it was political--blacks could vote in the North but not in the South. Favoring northern blacks who could vote over southern blacks who could not did appear in this light. This simplification overlooks his apparent sincere belief that it harmed the Negro to raise the race issue in the South. Appointments in the North would thus give recognition to deserving men of the race without agitation of the race question and satisfy his requirement of merit and the Progressive crusade of morality in politics.

A brief view of the major controversies of the Roosevelt era reveal a consistent picture. The dinner with Washington is one of the two best known. In issuing the invitation, he said he "did not devote very much thought to the matter one way or another. . . . It seemed to me natural."[43] Thus both he and Washington were surprised at the outburst; after all, he had entertained Harry Burleigh, the black baritone and composer, in the governor's mansion.[44] Why should not this man, whom he considered the most distinguished person of his race, be invited to the White House.

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[38] Ray Stannard Baker Papers (Notebooks), Box 121, Library of Congress.

[39] New York *Age*, March 12, 1908; Kelly Miller, *Race Adjustment: Essays on the Negro in America* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1908), pp. 291-93.

[40] New York *Age*, March 12, 1908; Terrell, *Colored Woman*, pp. 193-94.

[41] Savannah *Tribune*, January 23, 1903; *Star of Zion*, January 15, 1903.

[42] New York *Age*, March 9, 1905; Washington *Bee*, February 9, 1907; Richmond *Planet*, April 18, 1908.

[43] Letter of November 8, 1901, Morison, *Letters*, III, pp. 190-91.

Roosevelt never repeated a personal individual invitation to a black. Some infer that, in Washington's case, this was to preserve his image and good work with the white South.[45] He did have the courage to invite blacks to receptions. One was to an official reception in 1903 for which he suffered another wave of disapproval. He also invited blacks to a reception of Episcopal bishops and for the Washington School Board.[46]

Roosevelt elicited an equally hostile reaction from the South when he announced the appointment of Dr. W. D. Crum as Collector of the Port of Charleston, South Carolina. Roosevelt had found favorable sentiment for this man in Charleston, and he definitely fitted his own criteria of education and success.[47] When the opposition blocked Crum's confirmation, he defended his selection in a letter to Robert Goodwyn Rhett, a banker, and James Adgar Smith, the Mayor of Charleston, in similar statements. He would not shut the "door of hope" to blacks, especially if they have "in marked degree the qualities of good citizenship."[48] He also wrote Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, that his prime tests were "character, fitness and ability."[49] He stood by his selection with recess appointments until Crum was finally confirmed in late 1904. He served for the duration of Roosevelt's term.

Senator Jetor Pritchard led a virtually lily white movement in North Carolina. Roosevelt ran counter to Pritchard's political wishes when he considered reappointing Postmaster Samuel Vick of Wilson, North Carolina. Vick was accused of being a Democrat because he had not supported Pritchard's lily whites. This point was later used in Roosevelt's dismissal of him.[50] Ironically, the Rough Rider was prone to appoint "gold Democrats" when qualified Republicans were not available. Despite contentions of North Carolina blacks, he was apparently convinced that Vick did not fit his qualifications and character. At a time when he was under attack for the Crum appointment and dismantling the lily whites of Alabama, the charge of political opportunism is weak.

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[44] Washington to Roosevelt, October 31, 1901, Roosevelt Papers, Series I, Vol. 53.

[45] Cleveland *Gazette*, October 26, 1901, Charnwood, *Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 102-03.

[46] Bishop, *Roosevelt*, I, pp. 167-68; *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, February 5, 1903; Mary Church Terrell, "Diary" entry of December 18, 1905, Mary Church Terrell Papers, Box 51.

[47] Roosevelt to Wister, April 27, 1906, Morison, *Letters*, V, p. 227.

[48] Letters of November 10 and 26, 1902, Morison, *Letters*, III, pp. 375-76 and 383-85.

[49] Letter of February 24, 1903, Morison, *Letters*, III, pp. 430-32.

[50] Washington *Bee*, November 8, ?December 13 and 20, 1902, April 4 and 18, 1903; *Star of Zion*, November 20 and December 11, 1902; Cleveland *Gazette*, December 27, 1902.

Lack of courage was obviously not a problem, either. As the Vick case was grinding to an unsuccessful conclusion, in black opinion, a black Postmistress, Mrs. Minnie Cox, resigned her position in Indianola, Mississippi. Some elements of the white community had supposedly intimidated her. This opposition to her came despite support from the business community and high ratings from postal inspectors. The black community, forgetting their criticism of T.R. in the Vick case, rallied to his support.[51] Roosevelt closed the Post Office in 1903 and maintained this position through 1904. He defended his action by citing his overall policy that had "decreased the quantity and raised the quality of Negro appointments in the South."[52]

In Louisiana, Roosevelt's policy was muddled. He did not like the "silk-stocking" or "lily white" type. On the other hand, the opposite wing of the party, which included blacks, he saw as "the Reconstruction era regime." Thus he appointed some blacks while dropping others. Although he satisfied no one else, Roosevelt was satisfied since the result was "a very exceptional set of public officials."[53] The latent paternalism of the man is evident in a letter of 1904 when he wrote:

> I feel as strongly as any one can that there must be nothing like "Negro domination." On the other hand, I feel equally strong that the Republicans must consistently favor those comparative few colored people who by character and intelligence show themselves entitled to such favor.[54]

Roosevelt made no changes in Georgia during his first term except to drop one black charged with immorality.[55] In the second term, however, Judson Lyons lost his prestigious federal post as Register of the Treasury of the United States. He was replaced by another black, William Tecumseh Vernon, President of Quindaro University of Kansas. Roosevelt defended his action on the grounds that it gave recognition to northern and western blacks and that Lyons had held the office since 1898. In general, Georgia blacks had dominated the federal posts for some time. This move indicated that political gravity of blacks had shifted, not only to the North, but also to Tuskegee.[56] This change brought a mixed reaction, and it appeared that political motivation was high in the case. But he also removed a well-qualified public official and replaced him with another well-qualified black. This case is, at best, a standoff.

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[51] Savannah *Tribune*, January 10 and 17, 1903; Cleveland *Gazette*, January 10, 1903.

[52] Roosevelt to Gilder, February 7, 1903, Morison, *Letters*, III, pp. 420-21.

[53] Roosevelt to Gilder, November 16, 1908, Morison, *Letters*, VI, p. 1363; Boston *Guardian*, February 8, 1908.

[54] Roosevelt to F. B. Williams, February 24, 1904, Washington Collection, Tuskegee Institute.

[55] Washington to Whitefield McKinlay, January 22, 1902, Carter G. Woodson Collection, Folder 61.

The Brownsville affair was probably the most publicized single incident involving Roosevelt and black Americans. It came as a surprise out of a black Texas night. The shock of an American town shot up, allegedly by their own troops, was followed by the shock of the dismissal of an entire regiment. One hundred and sixty-seven men of the 25th Infantry, including six Medal of Honor winners, were discharged without a military or civilian hearing. The only clear fact was that someone had fired shots in the town. Roosevelt was convinced that some troops were involved. When the others refused to inform, he believed military discipline was at stake and took drastic action. It was also, in Roosevelt's mind, a question of public morality. For a long time he had embraced the belief that blacks often banded together to shelter and protect their criminal elements. Blacks were confused in that he had always rewarded individual merit. Yet this seemed to work in reverse order. The fact was, for those who had looked carefully at his evaluation of black troops in the Spanish-American War, Brownsville was no surprise. The key to his attitude and action here was contained in a letter to Silas McBee. He had been under great political pressure to rescind the order, but, as he told McBee:

> But in a case like this, where the issue is not merely one of naked right and wrong but one of vital concern to the whole country, I will not for one moment consider the political effect.[57]

When Roosevelt relented somewhat and allowed those who could prove their non-involvement to do so, the liberal black community was horrified. The idea of an American citizen proving his innocence was reprehensible.[58]

The focus on Brownsville is more vivid when viewed from the Spanish-American War period. It was in Cuba, during that war, that black troops had allegedly saved the heroic Rough Rider at the battle of Las Guasimas. Later, it was there he led the famous charge up Kettle Hill, with elements of black units accompanying him. As the Rough Riders were being disbanded following the war, Roosevelt paid tribute to these "smoked Yankees" as an "excellent breed of Yankees."[59] He made similar comments in his race for governor.[60]

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[56] Atlanta *Independent*, August 20, 1904, June 3 and December 23, 1905; Washington to Emmet J. Scott, March 25, 1908, Washington Papers, Box 24.

[57] Roosevelt to Silas McBee, November 27, 1906, Morison, *Letters*, V, p. 509.

[58] Boston *Guardian*, March 21, 1908; Cleveland *Gazette*, March 21, 1908.

[59] Savannah *Tribune*, September 17, 1898.

[60] Washington *Colored American*, October 22, 1898.

Yet in April of 1899, Roosevelt attacked the "smoked Yankees'" fighting ability in an article for *Scribner's*. They did not make good officers, he said, being inadequate and unequal to white leadership. He also accused many of deserting when under fire. Ironically, he admitted that some Rough Rider officers had to be replaced; one deserted twice under fire. Roosevelt was also aware of the wholesale desertion of one all-white infantry unit, the 71st New York Infantry. On the other hand, he cited many individual blacks for bravery and leadership. Why the discrepancy? Perhaps the answer is best given in his own defense of his writing. He attributed the alleged cowardice to "Superstition and fear of the darky, natural in those but one generation removed from slavery and but a few generations removed from the wildest savagery." On the other hand, "When a Negro soldier does as well as a white soldier, and such is often the case, I would give him as great a, or even greater, mead of praise and reward."[61] With an expectation of black superstition and fears, it would have been easy to misinterpret black troop movements in the heat of battle. But he still rewarded the heroic act. What he expected from this "backward" race was that they prove themselves both as a race and as individuals.

The *Scribner's* article proves conclusively that Roosevelt did not alter his approach to black Americans during his Presidency. The three major facets of his thought guiding relationships with blacks--*noblesse oblige*, paternalism, and awards to merit--are also incorporated here. It was a stance that worked well with blacks such as Booker T. Washington, but which brought him under increasing fire as militancy grew among black Americans. The "change" then was not in Roosevelt, but in the black community.

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[61] Roosevelt to Fleming, May 21, 1900, Morison, *Letters*, II, p. 1304.

THE CHINESE IN AMERICA:
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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In the middle of the fall quarter of 1971, while the author was teaching at the University of Georgia, a student in his Chinese history class declared (perhaps facetiously): "Well, even now the damn Chinese don't like that blasted school busing." Another student immediately chimed in with a remark that he wasn't sure what the Chinese were upset about, but "if they're against busing, I'm for them." The reader should immediately be assured that this paper neither intends to belabor the busing issue--that topic causes more fury than the possibility of recognizing the People's Republic of China--nor to examine the specific demands of the Chinese community in San Francisco--and elsewhere--to have their children attend schools where Chinese language and culture are taught. It will focus, rather, on the Chinese people's inchoate development within the American society, and it will examine, more particularly, pre-twentieth century relations between Chinese and Americans.

In this way, whatever facet of the Chinese people in the United States the reader might be interested in--the Chinese identity problem, the growing radicalism of the young Chinese, the approaches to use when teaching them or teaching about them, and other such questions--there might be agreement about the importance and usefulness of shedding the light of historical perspective on these matters. Furthermore, this brief paper will perhaps support those historians who are involved in reevaluating the validity of the so-called melting pot concept. Although this myth has served and will continue to serve America with some benefit, it must be conceded that a blind adherence to the idea that all foreign nationals who came to this land somehow blended together to form a new homogenous people has frequently resulted in a distorted and myopic view of United States history, too often serving the chauvinistic interests of some to the detriment of the immigrants. There were, of course, skeptics of the melting pot concept early in the twentieth century, but they generally argued that certain nationalities had to be excluded from immigration if other foreign nationals were to have a better chance to become "Americans." One of the more resourceful arguments for a restricted immigration policy is that of Henry Pratt Fairchild, who wrote in his *The Melting-Pot Mistake*:

> These "foreign colonies," as they are commonly called, are living evidences of the tenacity of nationality. They show how vigorously every individual clings to his own original national traits, how choice and dear they seem to him, and how difficult it is for him to change them even if he wishes. . . . The process of Americanization, then, for the immigrant is infinitely more

> difficult than for the native because the former, during the years before his arrival in the United States, has already acquired more or less completely a foreign nationality. This nationality is dissimilar in most respects, and absolutely contradictory and inconsistent in many respects, to the American nationality.[1]

The Chinese had proven, along with several other foreign nationalities, particularly difficult to be transformed from their traditional ways to the "American way of life." For this they would suffer. But because the Chinese were fewer in number and rather less distributed throughout the country, the majority of American society paid little attention to the origin or seriousness of their problems.

One hardly has to be dragged through a year-by-year account as the Chinese coolie labored on the railroads of the United States to know of the many injustices they endured and ghastly crimes committed against them. Likewise, one does not have to look to the distant past for examples of misguided stereotypes--there is a secretary who talks about a thirty-year-old Chinese graduate student as that "sweet little Mr. Soo." There is also a University Dean who, in all seriousness, referred to Asian studies as "un-American studies." But there is little doubt that the early history of the Chinese in the United States contains insights which can help us understand why many problems and misleading stereotypes developed and, perhaps, what approaches can be used to dispose of them.

Contrary to what one might believe about early American attitudes toward China and the Chinese, from the earliest evidence that is available, Americans never seemed to be very highly impressed with traditional Chinese culture and government. In fact, we were often downright disdainful and harshly critical. It is perhaps natural to assume that, before the masses of Chinese coolies arrived in this country after 1850, America was open and tolerant to any foreign people--except the blacks. But that important exception was a catalyst that prompted several other exceptions. Accustomed to reading about the laudatory writings of the Enlightenment philosophers in Europe, such as Leibniz, Voltaire, Quesnay, and others with regard to China, it might be assumed that similar attitudes prevailed in America. Voltaire, for example, asserted that "the organization of [the Chinese] empire is in truth the best the world has ever seen. . . ." "They have," Voltaire praised, "perfected moral science and that is the first of the sciences."[2] Leibniz, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, startles the reader with this observation:

> [Europe's] circumstances seem to me to have degenerated to such a level, particularly with regard to the monstrous and increasing breakdown of morality, that one could almost think it necessary for the Chinese to send missionaries to us to teach us the purpose and use of natural theology, in the same way as we

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[1] Henry Pratt Fairchild, *The Melting-Pot Mistake* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1926), pp. 209 and 219.

[2] G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 318.

send missionaries to them to instruct them in revealed theology.[3]

But these and many other words of praise were from another century, another culture, and, to some degree, for another China. When the first ship, the *Empress of China*, set sail from New York harbor in 1784, it was an American ship and American people who would be dealing with the Celestial Kingdom. There may have been even earlier contact between the infant and ancient countries, for there is some belief that the Boston Tea Party of 1773 was held with Chinese tea, and it has been claimed that the Chinese may have even discovered the new world.[4] In any case, the voyage of Captain John Greene and the *Empress of China* prompted at least some Americans to scramble for more information about this mysterious country, and, to a large degree, China received a bad press when information was made available. An exhaustive search of the lists of the books in the collections of early colonial America by such noted scholars as Louis Wright, Daniel Boorstin, Carl Bridenbaugh, and others has failed to turn up more than a handful of works on China. One of our illustrious founding fathers, John Adams, jotted down the note that "China is not larger than one of our Colonies. How Populous." And George Washington expressed great surprise to learn that the Chinese were not white, although he had known that they were "droll [amusingly odd, whimsically comical] in shape and appearance."[5]

From the very beginning, it was the American merchant and businessman who dealt with the Chinese, and their image of them, in part, was one of millions of Chinese with mouths open and hands outstretched ready to buy American wheat, corn, and other products in return for precious silks, tea, and spices. John King Fairbank, the dean of American scholars on China, has asserted that American commercial interest in China has always had a large admixture of imagination and hope.[6] Perhaps in frustration of rewards that never seemed to materialize, Thomas Randall, merchant and American vice-consul, complained to Alexander Hamilton in 1791 that the foreign trader in Canton particularly suffers from the Chinese government's corrupt and inept procedures, and he concludes with the blast that "the Chinese are considered by most persons who have seen them, as very contemptible, however importantly they think of themselves. . . ."[7] A merchant's poem, about a Cantonese Chinese person, Mingqua, best describes the American merchant's view of China in this early period. The theme of the poem was that the Chinese were "peculiar" people who had bizarre tastes and habits and other grotesque characteristics. The poem reads, in part:

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[3] Wolfgang Franke, *China and the West* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967), p. 62.

[4] Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 7. For the theory that Buddhist monks made it to the Western Hemisphere, see Carl F. Neumann, *Fusang, or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the 5th Century* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1972).

[5] Quoted in Stuart Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 13-14. Even Benjamin Franklin, though "fond of reading about China," came upon the subject rather late in his life, according to Miller.

[6] John King Fairbank, *The United States and China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 284-87.

Mingqua, the host [to the American] pressed on each dish
With polished Chinese grace;
And much, Ming thought, he relished them
At every ugly face [at every terrible taste]
But, [dishes] changed, he brightened up,
And thought himself in luck
When close before him, what he saw
Looked something like a duck!
Still cautious grown, but, to be sure,
His brain he set to rack;
At length he turned to one behind
And, pointing, cried: "Quack, Quack."
The Chinese gravely shook his head,
Next made a reverend bow;
And then expressed what dish it was
By uttering, "Bow-wow-wow!"[8]

Even more ridiculous reading is the unenlightened comments of the American diplomats and missionaries before 1840. They, of course, were amply influenced by English predecessors, such as Lord George Macartney, who in 1793 had unsuccessfully tried to open China to English trade and was rebuffed. Macartney ludicrously asserted that underneath their elaborate robes Chinese courtiers never change their underwear, and they "spit about the rooms without mercy, blow their noses in their fingers and wipe them with their sleeves or upon anything near them"[9]--semibarbarians the whole lot! (Apparently Lord Macartney forgot how the English blew their snuff around and wiped their greasy hands on clothes and furnishings.)

In 1832 President Jackson appointed Edmund Roberts, a New England ship captain and trader, to be a roving emissary to several Asian kingdoms adjacent to and influenced by China. A large portion of Roberts' chronicle, published posthumously, was, however, harshly critical of China and seemed to have subsequent influence on such American periodicals as the influential *North American Review*. Rather than a country of order and tranquility, Roberts declared, China "is a place of murders, insurrections, robberies, shocking and unnatural crimes of kidnapping, infanticide, suicide, and all the beastly and unnatural crimes of which the world ever heard or read." Even more dastardly, "the Chinese are without God in the world and estranged from divine life, worhsipping the works of their hands, to the disgrace of human reason." Roberts goes on to chastise them for their superstitious rites that are nothing more than gluttonous and drunken feasts, which are "misnamed a religious observance."[10] But it is with their personal habits that Roberts condemns the Chinese most vehemently:

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[7] S. Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant*, p. 20.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

> In their habits they are most depraved and vicious; gambling is universal and is carried to a most ruinous and criminal extent, they use the most pernicious drugs as well as the most intoxicating liquors to produce intoxication; they are also gross gluttons; every thing that runs, walks, creeps, flies, or swims, in fact, every thing that [is] most disgusting to other people, are by them greedily devoured.[11]

Diplomat Roberts forgot to mention that they also eat dog! Despite his misgivings about the country, he was convinced that America could gain considerable economic benefit from that populous country.[12]

The arrival of the Reverend Robert Morrison in China in 1807 opened a new channel of direct information about that country. This first Protestant missionary and his fellow workers, through their books and journals, provided the American people with considerable information, or misinformation, on the Chinese. It must be remembered that in China this was neither the age of the Great Khan or the heydays of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, nor were these people the Jesuit missionaries who earlier had taken great pains to learn the language and culture and thus were able to provide a more balanced picture of China.

Such noted publications as the *Missionary Herald* and *The Chinese Repository* seemed obsessed with Chinese idolatry, gambling, sexual immorality, while at the same time showed indifference or hostility toward Confucianism, traditionally East Asia's most influential philosophy.[13] This obsession is explained, in part, by the "Protestant crusade" as Professor Ray Billington labeled it--religious fundamentalism which rivaled the stern religion of the Puritans of colonial New England.[14] But another explanation for the harsh comments of American missionaries with respect to China must be laid at her own doorstep. The Middle Kingdom by the nineteenth century had ossified, Confucianism seemed no longer viable, and their gentry were no longer creative; civil war and political corruption were realities of life. But what bothers one when reading the criticisms of the American missionaries was their shallowness, their blindness to how westerners worsened the situation in China, or certainly did not help it, and their failure to reserve judgment until they learned more about China's traditions and history.

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[10] Edmund Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam, and Muscat* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1837), pp. 79-80 (Roberts' emphasis).

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

[12] *Ibid.*, Introduction and pp. 126-27.

[13] See, for example, Paul Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958), Ch. II and VIII; Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), *passim.*

[14] Though Professor Billington's book, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860* (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1938), is primarily an explanation of the Protestant effort to eliminate the "Catholic threat" in the United States, he has an interesting chapter that describes American fears about the influx of aliens which seemed to threaten their established social

One missionary, John L. Nevins, arrogantly wrote that Confucian philosophy--"a vain philosophy"--beyond its antiquity and influence in China, had no intrinsic value. Another American missionary, David Abeel, wrote even more critically in 1836 that "all the admiration heaped upon Confucius and his system was a function of ignorance among the Chinese and 'infidelity' among 'more enlightened' peoples." He detailed how carts went around the city of Peking in the early morning "to pick up the bodies of infants thrown into the streets . . . and even dogs and swine are let loose upon them."[15]

And so it seems that the majority of the early nineteenth century American missionaries, as well as diplomats and traders, did indeed believe that they were not only carrying to the heathens the refreshing Spiritual Truth, but were also carrying the Light of Civilization, the new Eden, to a country that at best could be labeled a "semi-civilized state," where "sin had spread its deadly venom throughout the whole body politic," as stated by the *Methodist Quarterly Review* (1850).

By 1840 many features of Chinese traditional life, which had at one time won some praise and wonderment, such as the delicacy of their cooking or the efficiency of their pharmacology, began to provoke disgust and suspicion in American magazines. Cats, dogs, rats became the foods for "the filthy feeding of the beastly inhabitants of China . . . in preference to wholesome meat."[16] But what really brought China and its people to the attention of the American public was not so much the reports of merchants, diplomats, or missionaries, whose generally critical and unfavorable comments were read by a relatively few educated and interested Americans, but rather the dramatic events of the Opium War (1839-1842). It may be surprising that American traders, diplomats, and missionaries gave overwhelming support, not to the badgered and weak Chinese, but to the English. The famous missionary, Samuel Wells Williams, explained to the American public that this war could be good for China because she needed "a hard knock to rouse her from her fancied goodness and security."[17] And the Reverend William Boone of the Episcopal Board predicted that after England's victory over the haughty Chinese, hundreds of missions will be

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structure, endanger the nation's economic welfare, and spell doom for the existing governmental system (Chapter XIII).

[15] S. Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant*, pp. 65-67.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-01. See also Williams' reflection on the war in his book, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1848), Vol. 2,

established among the "literally perishing heathen idolators," and all barriers to God will be removed.[18] One should not be left with the impression that the missionaries and others were not concerned with the debilitating drug, opium, but the war itself was a seeming act of Providence.

A lecture on the Opium War, by no less a figure than John Quincy Adams, prepared Americans to support England. Citing traditional international lawyers, the sixth President of the United States argued that the cultivation of commerce was among the natural rights and duties of men. "This natural right to international commerce," Adams advised, "was emphatically enjoined by the Christian precept to love your neighbor as yourself." He applauded England for rectifying an "enormous outrage upon the rights of nature perpetrated by the arrogant and insupportable pretentions of China."[19] In all of his righteous talk, somehow the pernicious opium was forgotten. James Gordon Bennett and his Anglophobic *New York Herald* was able to forgive the English attack on China. To Bennett, it compared to the defeat of the Mexicans and the establishment of the Texas republic. Bennett concluded: "It is another movement of the Anglo-Saxon spirit in the remotest east, against the barriers of semi-barbarians and a half-civilized race, who have been stationary for twenty centuries or more."[20]

A side effect of the Opium War was the first faint stirring of what could be considered yellow-perilist fear. There were reports that the English invasion of China would teach the Chinese how to fight, and they might soon set about "devouring the whole earth, trampling it down, and tearing it to pieces."[21] Rather than this absurdity subsiding with time, the fear would grow stronger and more malicious.

The overall conclusion of the press towards China's predicament was one of "it serves her right." The Chinese needed a good beating by an enlightened Western power such as England in order to bring her out of ignorance, conceit, and idolatry--the Opium War was simply an instrument of God to punish that heathen nation and correct her ways.

With the start of the second half of the nineteenth century, and initiation of the coolie (K'u-li--bitter strength or bitter work) trade, using Chinese laborers in mining and on the railroads, American prejudices towards them became more widespread and fixed. It is, of course, true that after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, California, in 1848, Chinese immigration grew by leaps and bounds. According to United States Immigration records, the first Chinese arrived in the United States in 1820, and a total of eleven came between 1820-1840--one Chinese may have even lived in New York as early as 1807. But coolie trade on a large scale actually did not start in the United States, but rather began in

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pp. 593-94. He believed that despite England unjustly using the seizure of opium as a pretext for war, the war was "a wholesome infliction upon a [haughty] government."

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-26.

Peru when on November 17, 1849, the Peruvian congress passed an immigration law making possible the introduction of Chinese. Within twenty years, almost 40,000 Chinese coolies had reached Peru.[22]

Prompted on by the promise of gold, a job, or other opportunities, there were more than 34,000 Chinese in America by 1860. With the authorization for the construction of the transcontinental railroad on July 1, 1862, the coolie traffic greatly increased. Within a decade there were more than 130,000 new arrivals, but an even more impressive figure is during that same period some 60,000 Chinese departed to return to China.[23]

Most Americans are now aware of the subhuman conditions in which the black slaves came to this country; the Chinese coolie travelled in similar misery to reach *Chin-shan*, or "gold mountain," as the Chinese called San Francisco. A fare of $40 to $50, on the average, was charged for the transportation to San Francisco and half that amount for the return trip. Despite untold numbers that died on the voyage and never made it to the promised land, tens of thousands were reaching California so that by "1870, 8.6 percent of all Californians were Chinese."[24] By 1875 a sufficient number of Chinese had even arrived on the east coast to establish miniature Chinatowns in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The *New York Times* had a number of ghastly articles about New York Chinatown. When an investigative reporter inquired from an opium den owner about a "squalidly dressed white girl," the Chinaman replied with a terrible lear: "'Oh, hard time in New York. Young girl hungry. Plenty come here. Chinamen always have something to eat, and he like young white girl, he! he!'"[25] These malicious articles were bad enough, but accompanying them came increased violence on the part of the white society against the Chinese. In the 1880's, labor violence broke out against the Chinese in the mining sites of the Rocky Mountains. One of many examples was the massacre of twenty-eight Chinese and the destruction of dozens of their homes in 1885 in Rock Springs, Wyoming.[26] A few years later, two Chinese owners of laundries in Athens, Georgia, were murdered.[27] Violence against the Chinese in the American white society was widespread and for multiple reasons.

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[22] S. W. Kung, *Chinese in American Life* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), p. 16.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[24] Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 61-64. See also Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss, *The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), pp. 108-09.

[25] *New York Times*, "Chinese in America," December 26, 1873.

[26] See Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America*, pp. 254-56; also, Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau, *To Serve the Devil* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1971), p. 101.

[27] Information received from Jack Martin, Athens' unofficial historian.

The legal environment for the Chinese in America was equally grim in the nineteenth century. In 1854 the Supreme Court of California ruled that the Chinese were legally non-whites and could not testify against whites in court. California law at that time provided that "No black or mulatto person, or Indian shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a white man." The Court reasoned that since Christopher Columbus was attempting to discover a western passage to the Indies when he landed on the shores of this continent, and since "from that time, down to a very recent period, the American Indians and the Mongolian, or Asiatic, were regarded as the same type of the human species," Chinese should also be prohibited from testifying against white men in the courts of California.[28]

In 1862 Arthur B. Stout, a medical doctor in San Francisco, published a report entitled *Chinese Immigration and the Physiological Causes of the Decay of a Nation*. A mixture of pseudo-science, fantasy, and racist propaganda, Stout's mishmash would hardly be worth mentioning if the American Medical Association itself had not been prompted to make similar investigations later. Stout began his report by reminding the white society of its superior status:

> Over the world is fast extending what is termed the great Caucasion Race of men. . . . This is the race created with the highest endowments and greatest aptitude under various circumstances, to encounter the vicissitudes of every clime and every foil. God speed it on its way![29]

But it is the American society, "isolated among nations in its purity and highest degree of cultivation and refinement, that proudly rivals all other Caucasion nations."[30] There is the danger, however, that the "barriers to immigration" could burst and Chinese "will flow across the Pacific." The American people, Stout concluded, should respect the Creator's desire to "distinctly divide man" and "so it should be."[31]

Through such propaganda the Chinese people in America could and would be accused of everything from miscegenation to poisoning the nation's bloodstream. These scare tactics in themselves were probably not responsible for the later demands to exclude Chinese immigration to this country, but certainly they augmented the existing economic tensions and the yellow peril fears.

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[28] *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California 1854*, "Chinese May Not Testify Against White Men in Court." Document quoted in Cheng-tsu Wu, *"Chink" A Documentary History of Anti-Chinese Prejudice in America* (New York: World Publishers, 1972), pp. 36-38.

[29] Arthur B. Stout, *Chinese Immigration and the Physiological Causes of the Decay of a Nation* (San Francisco: Agnew and Deffeback, 1862), p. 6.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 9 and 18.

The various, sporadic trouble spots culminated in terrible riots that broke out in Los Angeles in 1871. Mobs of whites raided Chinatown. A reporter on the scene, P. S. Dorney, describes the violence:

> In their hiding place [the Chinese] were shot or hunted from room to room out into the open courtyard. . . . Men were dragged forth . . . and hurled headlong from a raised sidewalk to the ground. To the necks of some of the most helpless the mob fastened ropes and, with a whoop and a hurrah, rushed down Los Angeles street to the hanging place. . . . The little fellow was not yet about 12 years of age. . . . He was hanged. . . . It was midnight, and a body of men appointed by the sheriff cut down the dead--twenty-three in number.[32]

It is little wonder that from such examples of maltreatment and abuse of the Chinese the phrase was coined, "He hasn't a Chinaman's chance."[33]

Urged on, then, by a confusion of myth, fear, prejudice, and pressures from different elements and areas of the United States, the Congress of 1882 passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, a measure in direct violation of the spirit of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 between China and the United States, which allowed people of each country to go freely to the other. A series of discriminatory acts of 1892, 1898, and 1904 followed and were culminated in the Quota Act of 1924.[34] The new immigration law, which President Coolidge signed on May 26, 1924, kept out all Chinese and other Asiatics, even the wives and children of those Chinese who had immigrated to America. This was the bleak situation for the Chinese until in December, 1943, when Congress changed the law, permitting 105 Chinese a year to enter as immigrants.[35]

Since the purpose of this study of the Chinese in America is primarily with pre-twentieth century attitudes and relations, it is well here to summarize what this and other studies on the subject have found.

It is fair to say that those Chinese who came to America in the nineteenth century could be considered "sojourners," people who meant only to stay for a brief period and then return home. The Chinese newcomers, then, differed significantly from other arrivals in this country, both in cultural background and future intention. The Chinese did not expect to form a permanent part of the American society, but were sojourners who expected shortly to make their fortune and then return to China, the place of their birth, surrounded and honored by the families for which they had toiled.[36] Having left an environment of strong family ties and a country with a long history and a proud tradition, many Chinese had come to America with the desire of the return passage already imprinted in their minds. The Chinese people quickly discovered how difficult it would be to accomplish this goal.

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[32] Milton Finkelstein, Jawn A. Sandifer, and Elfreda S. Wright, *Minorities: U.S.A.* (New York: Globe Book Co., Inc., 1971), p. 195. Many of the already mentioned books describe in more detail mob action against the Chinese.

[33] Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau, *To Serve the Devil*, p. 83; also Cheng-tsu Wu, *"Chink,"* p. 146.

[34] S. W. Kung, *Chinese in American Life*, pp. 82-85. For a discussion of how the exclusion acts affected Sino-American government relations, see A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc.), Chapter IX.

[35] "An Act to Repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, December 17, 1943." Quoted in Cheng-tsu Wu, *"Chink,"* pp. 217-19. See also S. W. Kung, *Chinese in American Life*, pp. 103-05.

Their "temporary home" offered only low paying, menial jobs, and they found that the much-coveted gold was as scarce here as farming land had been back home. Likewise, they experienced various demeaning discriminatory practices which prevented them from receiving a fair portion of the rights and benefits in America. Although they may have originally intended to save their money for passage back to China, few were able to do so on what they earned, while others feared to return because their family expected to see their great fortune on their return. The Chinatowns of the United States quickly grew and came to serve the double purpose as a bastion for the Chinese peoples' physical protection and the center for the cultural preservation of their tradition. But their increasing isolation from the mainstream of American society, because they wished to retain their Chinese culture and because of the discrimination in the white society, served only to draw more suspicion upon them and envelop the Chinese in an illusory shell of protection. Violence and poverty also made their way into the Chinatowns.

The exclusion laws, beginning in 1882 and renewed thereafter, resulted in the Chinese communities, to a large degree, being frozen in time and space. Americans thought that legislating against Chinese immigration would not only save America from the "yellow peril," but would also result in the obliteration of the Chinese problem in the country. Of course, it did not. The Chinatowns too often became quaint sideshows for "American tourists" who could poke around and gasp at the smells and stare at the bizarre sights. Since the vast majority of the pre-twentieth century Chinese immigrants were from the economically deprived level of the society and were also poorly educated and untrained in the dominant culture, their condition improved little in the American Chinatowns. Americans grew accustomed to ignoring the needs of their Chinese fellow citizens, and the Chinese communities existed in poverty, misery, and frustration.

But in the past decade or so, the younger, better educated Chinese have been demanding their rights and place in the American society. The process is slow and, at times, precarious, and their demands for full citizenship are accompanied by their belief that their children should be educated in their Chinese heritage, culture, history, and language--as they learn the American counterparts--even if it means defying busing regulations to achieve their end.

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[36] See Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength*, for a more detailed explanation of the sojourner theory.

THE FRENCH CANADIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

MASON WADE

WINDSOR, VERMONT

People of French-Canadian antecedents are to be found in almost every state of the Union, and in many cases their history is a long one, in some instances going back well before the formation of the United States. Before outlining their history briefly, for it is very important in understanding them, it is also important to answer the reasonable question: "What are the French Canadians doing on this program devoted to minority studies and heavily weighted in favor of American blacks and Chicanos?" It might be pointed out that to the unenlightened nineteenth century racist-minded English Canadians, including the eminent Goldwin Smith, once a most distinguished professor at Oxford and Cornell, an analogy was often made between the French of Quebec and the blacks of the American South as raising similar problems for the "Anglo-Saxon Master Race," i.e., the Wasps. Occasionally, even in recent years, southern Congressmen who have just discovered Canada suffer the same blinding revelation. And most recently a leading French-Canadian separatist and terrorist, now a federal social worker, entitled his spiritual autobiography *Les Nègres blancs de l'Amérique* [*The White Niggers of America*]. The analogy is both wrong and unhappy, but it is persistent. Both groups do meet the dictionary definition of a minority: "a racial, religious, national or political group smaller than and differing from the larger controling group of which it is a part." But aside from some common minority attitudes and reactions arising from this status, the analogy breaks down, for the original background and the subsequent history of each group are very different.

The United States and Canada are both, of course, the result of the American Hundred Years War between Britain and France in North America. The French military defeats of 1759 and 1760 and the boundary drawn in 1763 left some considerable islands of French population in what was shortly to become the United States, while it left an almost wholly French Province of Quebec in British hands. Since then, or at least until very recently, Quebec has been regarded as the citadel of the widely dispersed French-Canadian people, for there alone they enjoy majority status--and are making the most of that fact today. The first French-Canadian immigrants to the United States were the Acadians, who were deported by the British and the New Englanders in 1755 and repeatedly until 1763 from their homes in modern Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. They were ruthlessly scattered among all the English seaboard colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia. Some stayed; many of them eventually returned home to the Maritime Provinces or went to Quebec; others found their way to Louisiana, where their descendants are known as "Cajuns." Then some of the *Québécois* who had espoused the American cause during the invasion of Quebec in 1775-1776--there were two regiments of French-Canadian volunteers in Schuyler and Montgomery's forces--accompanied the retreating invaders and were given lands in what became known as the "Refugee Tract" on the New York shores of Lake Champlain and westward along the border.

When Major Robert Rogers took over Detroit in 1763, he reported that there were about 2,000 French inhabitants scattered for about eight miles along both sides of the Detroit River. There were also smaller French settlements at Michilimackinac, Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien; at Forts Machault and Presqu'ile on the Ohio River route from Lake Erie to the Mississippi; and at a whole series of small French posts stretching down the latter river to New Orleans. After 1763 many of the French settlers of this region moved from the east bank of the Mississippi to the western one, thinking thus to remain under French rule, only to discover that they were now in Spanish territory. But they formed so large a majority of the population that they kept Louisiana French in language and culture until it passed into American hands in 1803. The whole Mississippi Valley still shows evidence of French occupation, though only the "Cajun" country of modern Louisiana remains predominantly French today.

It was in the early years of the nineteenth century that the emigration from agriculturally depressed Quebec to the burgeoning New England industrial centers began. It swelled with the *Patriote* refugees from the unsuccessful 1837-1838 Rebellions in Canada, who mostly settled in northern Vermont and New York. Shortly, others seeking good farmland settled in Bourbonnais County, Illinois. Then the "Great Exodus," as French-Canadian historians call it, began during the 1840's and 1850's, taking on such proportions that the authorities of both the church and state in Quebec became alarmed and launched measures to halt the flow of poverty-stricken *habitants* from the exhausted farmland of the St. Lawrence Valley. The California gold rush emptied some Quebec towns and was eventually responsible for the growth of a French colony in San Francisco. Lumbering operations in Washington and Oregon reinforced the nucleus of French Canadians formerly involved in the fur trade, just as they had done in Michigan and Wisconsin. Bishop Goësbriand of Vermont, a Breton who took a great interest in the newcomers, estimated their number in New England in 1866 at 500,000 after the Civil War had brought demands for military substitutes and mill hands for New England's booming war industry. As the United States continued to expand for the rest of the century, Canada suffered from persistent depression from 1873 until 1896, which resulted in increased southern migratory flow. Three-quarters of the officially estimated Franco-Americans in 1911 were concentrated in the six New England states, while the rest were scattered westward from New York through the Great Lakes states to the Pacific coast, and as far south as Texas. There was a smaller, but still very considerable, emigration of English Canadians to the United States during the same period. The overall picture led Sir Richard Cartwright, an eminent Liberal statesman and sharp tongued critic of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Conservative prime minister who presided over Canada's destiny during most of this period, to observe in the 1880's: "Canada's story begins in lamentations and ends in exodus."

There has long been a battle about the statistics of this great migration, which by its close had brought at least one-third, some 2,000,000, of the French Canadians to the United States. Canada kept no formal records of departures, and until 1890 the United States made no distinction between English and French-Canadian immigrants. Furthermore, the U.S. Census only recognizes as an ethnic group the first generation of the foreign born and their descendants; after that, everyone is supposed to be as wholly American as any *Mayflower* descendant. In any case, many individuals crossed and recrossed the border without any formalities. One cannot count noses by names, for many French ones underwent strange changes when pronounced or written by those who knew no French. One Irish foreman always asked what the original name meant and summarily translated it; thus, one poor *Québécois*, christened with the melodious name of Zéphire Beauchemin, went on the payroll as "Sweetbreeze Macadam," while a Jean-Baptiste Trudeau became "John B. Waterhole." The most distinctive thing about the Franco-Americans is that they refused to be assimilated, more successfully than any other immigrant stock. They tended to settle in groups where they could continue to use their language and establish their own churches, parochial schools, and other institutions. The constant "comings and goings" between their old and new homes reinforced their cultural survival. After the early years of the great post-Civil War migration, their leaders opted for naturalization. The favored slogan was: *"Loyaux Américains, oui, mais Canadien-français et catholiques toujours"* ["We are loyal Americans, certainly, but French Canadian and Catholic forever"].

Their success in importing and conserving their culture alarmed American nativists, who talked darkly of a new peaceful French conquest of New England by numbers after the failure of the old colonial attempt to take it by force of arms. In 1882 the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor produced an official report which referred to the French Canadians as the "Chinese of the Eastern States" because of their willingness to work long hours for little pay, and thus undercut their predecessors in the textile mills, first Yankee girls and the Irish immigrants, many of whom had risen to foreman status when the *Québécois* arrived. But the French Canadians were an industrious and thrifty folk who found factory labor, from dawn to dusk six days a week for $4 or $5 per family, more rewarding than working the family farm had been in Quebec. Gradually they prospered; they became home owners, small businessmen, and professionals; and some were able to send their children back to Quebec to get the classical college education which, in their hierarchical society, was the key to the better life and higher social status. With naturalization came the right to vote, and soon they formed too significant a proportion of the population in many states to be disparaged or neglected by politicians of other stocks. They soon supplied their own political leaders, for they did not take kindly to domination by Irish political bosses--or Irish bishops, for that matter. The French-Irish wars of New England, both in political and ecclesiastical matters, were stormy and bitter ones. An old French-Canadian *curé*, at the close of his history of a pioneer French parish in Vermont, charitably observed: "It certainly must be the intention of the Good Lord to have separate Heavens for the French and Irish, since it has been clearly demonstrated on earth that they cannot live peaceably together." The basic cause of friction, of course, was that each minority group had developed a compensatory doctrine that it was pre-eminently the Chosen People, while all others were steerage-class Catholics. While the Irish looked down their noses on these newly arrived immigrants who provided a scapegoat for them, the Franco-Americans taunted the Irish with having lost their own language and adopted that of their conquerors, while ever since 1763 the French Canadians had cherished their tongue and its glorious cultural heritage. There were clearly some curious currents of racism swirling about in the American melting pot, ranging from the old Wasp sense of superiority to "races without the Law" to these French and Irish convictions of ethnic and moral superiority. But today the Franco-American, as he rightly prefers to be called, is as typical of New England as the Yankee or the Irishman; and nobody questions his Americanism. And interestingly enough, today the Franco-American recriprocates a long tradition of being patronized by the French Canadians of Quebec as half-anglicized by stressing his economic superiority to his backward cousins in Quebec.

It might well be mentioned that the "Great Exodus" from Quebec shattered, though it did not wholly destroy, one long-cherished myth which English speaking North Americans believed of French Canadians since the British conquest of Canada: that the "French" are essentially an agricultural, rural people, with no talent for, or adaptability to, skilled industry and business. Although when the migration first began they often took jobs on New England farms where the younger generation had left to seek greater opportunity in the bustling new industrial centers or on the more fertile and rock-free soils of the Midwest, they quickly followed the Yankees and the Irish into the mills. Until recent years, they were a predominantly urban and industrialized people in the United States, long before Quebec in 1921 became, for the first time, predominantly urban. There were several reasons for this development. They were fugitives from a depressed agricultural community; and regular factory wages, no matter how low, looked good to them. The demand for labor was so high in the New England mills that recruiting agents were sent to Quebec to secure hands. Also, the classic English speaking picture of the *habitant* ignores the fact that he, like the Yankee farmer, had to be a jack-of-all-trades, and these skills could readily be adapted to the needs of textile mills and shoe shops. The traditional French-Canadian manual dexterity, going back to the days of the *coureur de bois*, combined with the strength and endurance required by that rugged life, proved to be equally useful in lumbering and mining, the nineteenth century industries which relied heavily on French-Canadian labor in the Midwest and far West. The Franco-American tendency to cluster in urban concentrations also has a social explanation: in the face of nativist agitation and opposition to foreign immigrants, it was natural for the French Canadians to consolidate their forces in their own communities, "Little Canadas" as they were often called in New England, where they could establish their own churches, schools, newspapers, and national societies. As in Quebec, the parish became the basic social unit. It is significant that the Franco-Americans succeeded in establishing no less than 178 national, i.e., French-language, parishes in New England, despite their poverty and despite the opposition of most of the American Catholic Hierarchy, who thought foreign-language parishes retarded the assimilation of immigrants into American life and were prejudicial to acceptance of the Catholic Church by Protestant Americans. It was a remarkable achievement of cultural survival under adverse conditions.

This achievement was largely their own, for they long lacked support from Quebec. The beginning of the Great Exodus was dismissed by George-Etienne Cartier, the political master of Quebec from the 1850's to his death in 1872, as good riddance: *"C'est la canaille qui s'en va"* ["It is the scum that is leaving"]. Then as the southward tide persisted and mounted, the Quebec and federal governments launched some half-hearted repatriation movements in the 1870's, trying unsuccessfully to lure the Franco-Americans back to Quebec to participate in colonization schemes or to take part in the settlement of the Canadian west. But the *La Patrie* settlement in the eastern townships of Quebec soon became known in New England as *"La Misère Noire"* ["Black Misery"], and federal immigration regulations and the railways made it easier for a European to get to Manitoba than for a French Canadian. In both cases there was no great seductive campaign to lure people just beginning to enjoy the economic benefits of industrialization back to the harsh conditions of agricultural pioneering. The persistent gospel of the Quebec clergy that life on the land was the divinely ordained salvation of the French-Canadian "race" found an even less enthusiastic reception in Franco-American centers than it did in Quebec.

Failing to stay the emigration by encouraging repatriation, the Quebec clergy finally sent missionaries to work among the migrants in the United States in response to long reiterated appeals from the New England bishops for French speaking priests. One of the French religious orders which Bishop Bourget had brought to Quebec from France in the 1840's, the Oblates of Marie Immaculate, took a leading role in this effort to care for the spiritual needs of the emigrants, establishing headquarters in Plattsburgh and Buffalo, New York; Burlington, Vermont; and Lowell, Massachusetts. Other orders, brothers and nuns as well as priests, soon followed, and the resources of these orders helped to establish a vast network of Franco-American schools and eventually several colleges. Interestingly enough, most of these orders eventually came to draw their members largely from the Franco-Americans themselves rather than from Quebec. Like the people they served, they had developed American roots. By the 1880's, Bishop Laflèche of Trois-Rivieres was voicing the opinion that perhaps it was the design of Providence to Catholicize New England through the Franco-Americans. While Honoré Mercier, Wilfrid Laurier, and many other French-Canadian political leaders toured the Franco-American centers to maintain touch with the exiles, they had become politically powerful enough by 1885 to bring pressure to bear on the President of the United States to intervene and prevent the execution of Louis Riel. Riel was the leader of the 1885 Rebellion of the *Métis*, the French halfbreeds in Saskatchewan. Riel had briefly attended the classical Collège de Montréal before it was decided that he was too unstable for the priesthood, and he thus had many schoolfellows among the New England clergy who had taken care of him during his years of exile in this country after the Red River uprising of 1869-70. This, too, was the period when the newly founded Franco-American national societies participated in the great patriotic conventions held in Montreal, which sought to develop a common front of all French Canadians in North America. The Franco-Americans had become a continental force.

An individual case in point is that of Olivar Asselin, a nationalist leader and spokesman in the early years of the twentieth century, second only to Henri Bourassa. He was the son of a poor farmer, the father of fourteen children, who had moved from the Quebec city region to Baie Ste-Paul, then to a colonization area in Charlevoix County, then to Mont Joli on the Lower St. Lawrence, and finally migrated in 1890 to Fall River, Massachusetts, where the streets were reputed to be paved with gold while the Lower St. Lawrence region was perilously close to starvation. While attending the Seminaire de Rimouski, young Olivar had been impressed by some Franco-American schoolfellows who sported better clothes, fat gold watches, and generous allowances, and told tall tales of the opportunities in their adopted country.

Like thousands of immigrants from Quebec before them, the Asselins soon found employment in New England. Young Olivar got a job first as a grocer's clerk and then as a textile mill hand. In 1892 at the age of 18 he began to write a weekly article for *Le Protecteur* of Fall River, the newspaper on which two years later he got a staff job which enabled him to quit the textile mill. He learned the journalist's trade on a succession of short-lived Franco-American newspapers and on *La Croix* of Montreal. He enlisted in the Rhode Island Volunteers upon the outbreak of the Spanish-American War as Calixa Lavallée, later the composer of the national anthem *O Canada*, did in Massachusetts, and became an American citizen as a result of his military service. But in 1900 he returned to Quebec to launch his notable career as a nationalist journalist. In 1903 he drafted the manifesto of the *Ligue Nationaliste*, and it is indicative of the influence of his years in New England that, in doing so, he cited the Declaration of Independence and the Monroe Doctrine, as well as some traditional American and anti-British sentiments, all of which Henri Bourassa, a Gladstonian liberal, modified or removed from the text. Later Asselin was to campaign vigorously against the trusts and against civic corruption in Montreal in the tradition of *Collier's* and the other muckraking popular American magazines of the period, though with wholly gallic verve.

Though the fact is rarely recognized either in Quebec or the United States, a good case might be made for the argument that the Franco-Americans who returned to Quebec and took an active part in its intellectual life--besides Asselin; Edmund Turcotte, a journalist trained in Lowell, Massachusetts, who became editor of *Le Canada* and finally a Canadian ambassador; Jean Palardy, the film maker and authority on early French-Canadian furniture; and Archbishop Joseph Charbonneau of Montreal, trained in sociology at the Catholic University of Washington; who are some who come to mind--have been makers and shakers of the Quebec world. Seemingly, their American background and outlook gave them a new perspective on the problems of French Canada. There is, of course, a reverse side of the coin to be found in the case of Jules-Paul Tardivel, born in Kentucky of a French father and an English mother and educated in Quebec, who became the leading reactionary and ultramontane journalist of Quebec in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth. Such matters might well be examined by Professor Pierre Savard of the University of Ottawa, who has already produced a valuable study of Tardivel and might find these other individuals useful focuses for his studies of the French "North Atlantic Triangle" consisting of France, the United States, and Quebec.

English speaking Americans have perhaps contributed more to American folklore with portrayals of Franco-Americans than the Franco-Americans themselves. Sir James Macpherson Lemoine's *Legends of the St. Lawrence* (1898), Dr. William Henry Drummond's poems of *habitant* life (1897-1907), and Dr. E. J. Melville's *Letters of Napoleon Como* (1909-1910) were all English-Canadian efforts to present the simple French-Canadian *habitant*, or the Franco-American immigrant, in sympathetic, if somewhat patronizing, terms. Dr. Melville's preface to his last collection is indicative:

> Napoleon Gomo is confessedly a linguist, speaking 3 languages (French, English and Vermont), with more or less fluency. His philosophy teaches him that true happiness is not to be gained in the pursuit of pomp or fame or power, but with his numerous family gathered around the box-stove, of a winter's evening, with his corncob working overtime, he drains life's cup of gladness to the dregs.
>
> The casual observer may think the Vermont Frenchman is being held up to ridicule in these letters but to him who reads between the lines the victim is seen at once to be the other fellow.[1]

The lumbermen of Michigan and Wisconsin had a legendary hero named Joe Mouffreau, "a big Frenchman who was supposed to have come over from Canady." According to Louis Blanchard, a Wisconsin woodsman:

> "Joe would pull crooked logging roads straight with his yoke of oxen, hitching them with a great chain it took ten men to carry to a hole the men dug around the start of the road, then giving a few yanks, whereupon the road straightened right out."[2]

Like Napoléon Cyr and Joe Monterraud of the Gatineau (perhaps the original of the legend), Mouffreau was a *fort à bras*, a hard man in a fight, knocking loudmouths clear through saloon windows and leaving the marks of his calked logger's boots in barroom ceilings. He called them his "signatures."

The folklore of the Franco-Americans themselves is derived largely from Canada, just as the French Canadians derived theirs from France. With adaptation to the new environment, it suffered changes, just as English Elizabethan songs did in the Kentucky hills (Fourth Joy of Mary). The Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, has collected Franco-American *chansons* since 1935 and has organized them into thirteen volumes, while Professor Gérard Brault's Franco-American students at the Bowdoin College Summer School in the 1960's tape recorded others, whose text has been published in mimeographed form in a series of volumes devoted to Franco-American speech. Stories, a vigorous art form of a people who at first had to rely largely on oral tradition to preserve their culture, were collected by Adélard Lambert in *Recontres et entriens* (1918) and in *The Journal of American Folklore*.[3] Earlier, Honoré Beaugrand and other journalists had produced similar material for the prolific, if short lived, Franco-American press. It was Beaugrand who wrote the first Franco-American novel, *Jeanne la fileuse* (Fall River, 1878), which earlier appeared in the newspaper *La République*. It presented a rosey picture of Franco-American industrial life in New England in sharp contrast with Mlle. Camille Lessard's *Canuck* (1936), whose protagonists leave the Lowell mills to return to peaceful farm life in Quebec. No less than three novels written in English by Franco-Americans, dealing with the Franco-American experience, were published in the next few years: Jacques Ducharme, *The Delusson Family* (1939), Vivian La Jeunesse Parsons, *Not Without Honor* (1941), and Albéric Archambault, *Mill Village* (1943). These novels deal with three different types of first generation Franco-Americans: the immigrant who cannot adapt and returns to Canada, a second who puts down new roots and reconciles his heritage with his new environment, and a third who lets himself be gradually assimilated and whose descendants lose the French language and the Catholic faith. Jacques Ducharme has also written a good popular history of the Franco-American experience in *The Shadow of the Trees* (1941).

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[1] E. M. Melville, *Letters of Napoleon Gomo, Third Batch* (St. Albans, 1910).

[2] Richard M. Dorson, *America in Legend* (New York, 1973), pp. 174-75.

[3] *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 36, No. 141 (July, September, 1923).

The old Yankee hostility to the newcomers from Quebec, who insisted on speaking what was wrongly called a "French patois" and on recreating in New England the "priest-ridden" society of Quebec, has dwindled over the years as the Franco-Americans have prospered and become prominent in New England life. The fraternal and national insurance societies, the Association Canado-Américaine and the Union Saint Joseph de l'Amérique, which they established with their scanty wages in the mills, now have impressive headquarters in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Woonsocket, Rhode Island. A third such society, specifically Acadian rather than French-Canadian, which was founded in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, in 1907, some years ago removed its headquarters to Moncton, New Brunswick, where it recently helped to finance the palatial new civic center, the Place Bonaventure, along with the federal Canadian government and the Canadian National Railways. The leading Franco-American college, Assumption, in Worcester, Massachusetts, has a magnificent new campus, replacing the old one which was destroyed by a tornado in 1953. Franco-Americans are accumulating wealth from the contracting, supermarket, and hardware businesses, among many others. A movement for re-Frenchification, similar to an earlier one in Louisiana, is now making considerable progress throughout northern New England from its headquarters in Manchester, New Hampshire. The Franco-American *patriotes* deplore the fact that French is used less and less in the old national parishes, but on the other hand there is now considerable French programming available on American radio and television, as well as from stations in Quebec. The old private universities of New England, as well as the state universities, are taking a new interest in French Canada and its ties with New England. Within recent years, almost all the New England states have concluded accords with the Quebec government for cultural exchanges, and many New England institutions offer courses on French Canada. In recent years, there have also been many graduate theses written in both American and Quebec universities on various aspects of the Franco-American experience in the United States. Much research still needs to be done, but a good beginning has been made on scholarly investigation of a people who not only have made a notable contribution to this country for over a century and a half, but who also have made contributions to their ancestral homes along the St. Lawrence and in the Maritime Provinces. For with their strong family sense, they constitute innumerable human ties between the United States and Canada and are at home in both countries. They are among the most truly North Americans.